

HUMAN RELATIONS

HARPER'S SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES

F. STUART CHAPIN, EDITOR

HUMAN RELATIONS

A College Textbook In Citizenship

BY

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The authors of *Human Relations* have described with considerable insight the web of human relationships in which we live. The intimate interdependence of social institutions and social agencies of modern times is pictured in bold and fearless strokes. All the major activities and services of social groups are outlined in great clarity of detail. The book presents a remarkably successful fusion of the most generally accepted practical teachings of economics, political science, sociology, and ethics. For this reason, it should prove a useful book for the general reader or for the student who is interested in obtaining a perspective of social problems in their broadest outlines. The emphasis is throughout the book wholesome and liberal. It is conservative in the sense of being temperate and moderate in its proposals and radical only in the sense of being open-minded and forward-looking.

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to aid the student to orient himself effectively and usefully in the complex social life of which he is an inevitable part. The authors seek to accomplish this purpose by presenting a fairly simple analysis of every-day human relations, a knowledge of which, to some degree, every responsible member of society must have if the great and increasingly complex problems of society are to be solved by peaceful and democratic methods.

The book is written with the conviction that the great mass of students complete their formal college training with a very inadequate understanding of the world of human affairs of which they are expected to become a responsible part; that, while they may be properly trained to pursue their professional careers successfully, they are sadly ignorant of the social or environmental conditions which absolutely determine the conditions of success or failure for themselves and others; and that the progress of the future in a democratic society must depend upon a public knowledge of human relations to which the college-trained man must make a greater contribution than he is now making if the great achievements of science and its by-products are not to bring about a social organization in which humanity shall be subordinated to materialism.

While the book may be regarded as an introduction to the social sciences, it attempts to be more than that,—to be also a direct view upon life and its more important problems, with which good and enlightened citizens are at this minute struggling. It hoped to gain recruits in the battle for a social order in which the interests of humanity shall reign unquestioned and supreme.

It is hoped that the textual arrangement is simple and clear. First are presented the major social institutions; then the various forms of community life; and lastly the great social

issues. Some stress is laid upon government not alone as a social structure, but as an instrument by which many of our great social problems may be solved.

Practically no footnote references are given. This is because the materials consist of current knowledge, for which no single individual is responsible, and because the selected readings offer not only collateral readings but source material.

The authors wish to express their indebtedness to a great number of writers in the field of all social sciences for information and viewpoints, and especially to thank their immediate colleagues for helpful and constructive criticisms and suggestions. The manuscript was used, in multigraphed form, for two years at North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering before being published in book form. During those two years many alterations and additions were made, and for many of these credit should be given to the authors' colleagues.

C. C. T.

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HUMAN RELATIONS

CHAPTER I

CIVIC RELATIONS

Human relations are as much a part of man's life as the organic processes of his body. A normal life is lived in contact with other persons. Human life is a meshwork of human relations. Practically everything that a person does is conditioned by his relations to other persons. What he is and can be largely depends upon what others are, with whom he associates.

In the present day, many of civilized man's human relations are so complex, indirect, and, therefore, impersonal, that he is not conscious of their existence. His ignorance of such human relationships does not help him to escape from their existence or keep him from suffering the bad effects which may arise from their maladjustments. He is no more independent of human relations than he is of the laws of gravitation and it therefore behooves him to understand them.

The chief tasks of life are set by social obligations, and the chief opportunities of life inhere in service to others. The greatest need of individual and community life is an understanding of our day-by-day social existence—that is, of the universal existence of human relations.

To be a good citizen requires more of a person than to be merely patriotic. President Wilson said in a message to the school officers of the nation, "I urge that teachers and other school officers increase materially the time and attention devoted to instruction bearing directly upon problems of community and national life." Good citizenship calls for an understanding of the issues and problems which confront the individual and the numerous groups of which the individual is a member. There is always need for community action in meeting and solving our modern social problems. Society is organized into agencies and institutions in order that it may more

systematically and effectively handle the issues and problems of life. Every individual in a democratic society is a member of its institutions and is jointly responsible with others for the maintenance, support, and operation of its social agencies. These constitute the machinery of our common social and civic life. They are agencies of self-government.

A nation is far more than a geographically circumscribed area with a set of governmental machinery which operates within that area. It is a body of people, occupying a given geographic area, who believe in and practice a fairly common set of customs, traditions, and morals, and who possess a fairly common body of ideas and ideals. Their governments are pieces of social machinery which the people set up for guarding the integrity of the institutions, agencies, customs, and morals which are common and dear to all members of the national group and which are believed to be essential to the nation's continuance and development.

Prosperity, enlightenment, favorable opportunity, morals, and co-operation are so interwoven and are so much matters of mutual cause and effect that they cannot be studied separately. They are, or ought to be, the common property of all the citizens of a nation. In order that this may be, the nation's integrity must be guarded and its ideals and institutions must be upheld. We have built up in this country sets of institutions, traditions, customs, and ideals which are fairly new in the world. They have been built out of an environment which has been, on the whole, exceedingly favorable to life and property. Economic opportunity has been rich and abundant. Individual initiative and personal freedom have found maximum expression. The American people in the beginning of their national life were the kind who were enterprising enough to leave old homes and old civilizations to build new ones. Our future destiny and our contribution to the world, as well as the continuance of our own happiness and prosperity, depend upon America maintaining the type of life she has been able to develop during the comparatively short period of her national existence.

Before we grant citizenship to a foreign-born person we re-

quire of him a certain understanding of our national government and its ideals. The process through which we require him to pass we call "naturalization." The chief requirements of naturalization are: that the person must have lived in this country for at least five years, must renounce his allegiance to all other nations, must be able to read and write, must be of good moral character and not a disbeliever in organized government. Recently there has developed in those sections of the nation where a great many foreigners live and work what is known as a program of "Americanization." The purpose of this program is to teach these people to speak, read, and write our language that they may be able to communicate with other citizens and have the tools with which to learn the things that are a part of our common life; to instruct them in American ways of health, sanitation, home and community life; and to teach them the customs, traditions, ideas, and ideals of America. A thoroughgoing program of naturalization and especially a thoroughgoing program of Americanization demands that we teach these same things to our native born and require of them the same allegiance and civic knowledge which we demand of immigrant citizens. Only by such a program can we guard the integrity of our social institutions and national ideals against the ignorance and selfishness of our own native sons and daughters as well as against the encroachment of damaging ideas and practices of foreigners.

Citizenship is more than the right of suffrage. To be permitted to vote is a great privilege. It constitutes the difference in the rights of a citizen in an autocracy and a citizen in a democracy. To know how to vote, or for whom and in favor of what issues to vote, in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people is tremendously more important than merely to have the right to vote. The issues which are presented to the electorate in a democracy demand a degree of enlightenment greater than in any other form of government. The questions of taxation, public improvements, such as roads, waterways, schools, parks, health and sanitary facilities; the question of protecting private property; the question of our international relations, of our attitudes toward

the poverty-stricken and criminal, and, in an indirect way, even the question of war—are all settled by the people who vote, and settled according to what their votes sanction or forbid. In the face of all these facts, however, it ought to be made clear that the mere casting of the ballot constitutes a small part of our civic activities.

To those who think of citizenship only in the political sense, a legitimate question is, "What is a man if not a citizen during the countless hours when he is exercising no conscious political function?" He lives very little by the edicts of government. He is not even conscious of the government except occasionally. He generally votes but once each year. He pays his taxes but once each year. He seldom runs athwart the law. With a purely political citizenship the average man is comparatively unoccupied. His other activities of life do and must absorb most of his time, thought, and energy. Furthermore, if he were to give as much as one-tenth of his total time to purely political activity he would not be able to abstract himself from habits and viewpoints which are a constant part of himself during the other nine-tenths of his time. If, therefore, he is to be a good citizen he must be a good man in every walk and activity of life. He will be good according to whether the human relationships which are woven into his life have been good and whether he habitually maintains right and helpful relationships in his every-day life and occupations. Merely to live and let live is a fairly good rule for the brutes, but human life in a modern complex society can be lived successfully and well only by the rule of live and help to live.

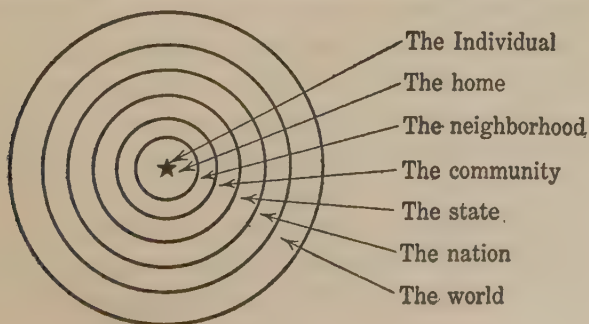
Man's political attitudes and activities are conditioned by his activities and attitudes in all other walks of life. Government and all other institutions reflect these attitudes and systematize these activities. The mere right of suffrage granted to all adults of a nation will not guarantee good citizenship. What the citizens do in their homes, what they learn in their schools and churches, what their chief interests and ambitions in life are, will dictate how they will vote. To guarantee even good suffrage, therefore, we must be sure

that all things which influence the persons upon whose vote the national and public life depends are right and good.

Men's actions and ideas are motivated by their needs and wants. They must have food, clothing, and shelter. They are bound to try to perpetuate their lives and to guard their health. They desire enlightenment and an opportunity to participate in art and recreation. They cherish the opportunity to worship according to the dictates of their own consciences. They want not only to supply their bodily needs, but also want to participate in the enjoyments of life equally with others whom they know.

Every man's primary physical needs are the same as those of all other human beings, and his cultural needs and desires are dictated by those with whom he comes in contact. He will, therefore, build ideas and assume attitudes upon the basis of striving to further his life by satisfying his physical needs and cultural wants. His citizenship will be the product of his striving, in terms of the activities he carries on and the ideas he holds. Government, whether it be national, state, or local, probably appears to assist men less in satisfying their desires and needs than any other institution or type of social organization.

The order in which our social organization influences us most directly is probably, first, our families; second, our neighborhoods; third, our communities; fourth, our states; fifth, our nations; and sixth, the world at large. If we are considering adults only, then occupational groups displace our neighborhoods. The following figure or chart illustrates the directness of the influence of each of these social groups



upon the individual's life, and shows the relative importance of each to the other in its influence upon him.

The type of influence which each of these groups or sets of associations has upon a person will largely dictate what his activities and attitudes will be in his individual life in all other groups of which he is a member. A detailed statement of this fact in the form of a rule would be as follows: A man will be the kind of a neighbor that his home makes him. He will be the type of a community man that his home and neighborhood, during childhood, dictate. He will be the type of a state or national citizen that his home, neighborhood, and community trained him to be. His attitudes toward world problems and his part in society will depend on all these other social relationships.

In addition to this expanding circle of human relationships that come with the increasing age of a child or youth, there are other sets of almost crystallized human relationships which are a part of a people's mode of living all through life. These are our great major social institutions such as the family, the school, the church, industry, and organized government. They are pieces of social machinery by which people carry on practically all the vital activities of life. They constitute the groupings of persons in systematic ways for the attainments of common ends. Their genius lies not so much in the fact that they separate people into different groups as it does in the fact that they furnish true and tried ways of satisfying the needs and wants of all members of a society. They are the so-called sanctioned forms of human associations—that is, the entire public accepts them, believes in them, and uses them constantly. They provide the facilities for carrying on many activities which are vital to life, prosperity and happiness for which the government does not care to, or cannot, provide. If, therefore, we would guarantee good citizenship in the day-by-day life of people, we must guarantee good homes, good neighborhoods and communities, good schools and churches, and good industrial and business relationships. For citizenship, especially good citizenship, depends upon these things much more than it does upon

political patriotism, the rights of suffrage, or even an understanding of the constitution and machinery of our political organization.

Government must guard the integrity of our social institutions and assure the maintenance of right human relationships. If the whole national group does not set up and maintain social institutions and does not guarantee the life and existence of all those human relationships referred to in the previous paragraph, it cannot guarantee that type of citizenship which will itself insure good government. These other human relationships are the facilities by which a government of the people is built and maintained. They are the tools by which people live. They supply the machinery and facilities of every-day life. It is through them that persons supply the satisfactions of their physical needs and cultural wants. It is to assure the existence and functioning of these things that we have government.

Men's lives are directed by the impelling circumstances of the community and generation in which they live. Every individual is born into a stream of events, customs, and traditions that are a part of the lives of the people with whom he will associate for a number of years and possibly all his life. During his childhood and youth he learns to catch step with the customs and ideas of the members of his family, playground, neighborhood, and community. He becomes a part of society by participating in its customs and believing in its ideas. He acquires his modes of citizenship by participating in the activities, ideas, and ideals of his community and his generation. If, however, he never escapes from the stern rule of custom, never learns better ways of doing things than his parents practiced, never gains better ideas or cherishes higher ideals than they had, he will make no positive contribution to the welfare and efficiency of civilization and cannot be accounted a good citizen in a progressive and changing society.

The problems of civic relations arise out of the fact that persons live together. Persons live together because they can satisfy human desires and needs better than they could

if each lived unto himself. A person is a citizen of every group of which he is a member. No human relationship is completely outside the domain of the civic. We have been in a habit of thinking of citizenship as applying only to the political aspects of a person's life. But government is only one of man's civic relationships. As a matter of fact, the term commonwealth would much better indicate the relationships of our political groupings than the terms state and nation do, for governments, like all other human groups, are for the commonwealth of the persons composing them.

Man could not live in a society so complex as ours were it not for the fact that all kinds of human relationships and organizations, economic, social, and political, were constantly maintained. The chief task of government is to maintain them and guarantee that life and happiness shall not be jeopardized by their failure to work. Any understanding or appreciation of government, therefore, must go beyond the mere memorizing of schemes of governmental organizations and departmentalizations. Such an understanding requires a knowledge of those vital relationships, which all governments seek to safeguard and of the sets of agencies and institutions which are essential to the maintenance and sure functioning of normal human relations.

An educated citizenship demands a knowledge and appreciation of all men's relationships to one another. Education in citizenship must not fail to give an understanding of the constitutions and framework of governments, but a knowledge of these constitutions and sets of governmental machinery does not make good citizens or even make citizens. Furthermore, our government is probably further removed from our daily life than any other one of our major social institutions. The home, the school, the church, industrial and business relationships, our neighborhoods and communities, are all a part of our daily habits. Unless they can be utilized to develop good citizenship, we will find it difficult indeed to have good government.

Modern man does not live a life of independence, but one of interdependence. His chief environment is his social

environment. His chief problems are his social and industrial problems. Civilization is the game of mutual helpfulness. Below the level of human existence this game is played but little. The Golden Rule and the Second Commandment are not edicts, but laws of successful civic life. "Thou shalt" and "thou shalt not" are not the cause of, or inspiration to, good citizenship. "Thou shouldst" and "thou mayst" constitute the genius of a democratic form of government. The citizen who lives under the protection of such a government, who holds private property under its guaranty, or avails himself of the numerous facilities which it sets up and maintains, and does not recognize that these are boons of co-operation and accomplishment, is an ignorant citizen. One who uses them, knowing these things without appreciating them or contributing to their support and improvement, is only half a citizen in that he participates only at the receiving end of group benefits. One who misuses or abuses them is criminal.

Men have always sought to gain an understanding of themselves and the world in which they lived. Never was such an understanding more difficult or more important than in the day in which we live. When men lived in caves or tents with a few tribesmen as the other members of their group, and each man was a member of but one group, his civic problems were few. He knew no one beyond his own narrow valley. His family or tribe constituted his home, his church, his school, his occupational group, and his government. Every one who influenced his life he knew face to face, as well as we know the members of our immediate families. Even with his limited experience he was more capable of comprehending all his social relationships than we are to-day when our everyday life is a meshwork of world relationships. An illustration of the complexity of modern man's every-day life will make this clear. His food comes from the ends of the earth—sugar from Cuba, coffee from Brazil, pepper from Borneo, spice and fruit from the tropics, and fish often from the frigid zone. The material of his clothes may represent the products of half a dozen sections of the world. He reads news that is gathered from the remotest part of the world and may hear over the

radio voices from halfway round the earth. The fact that these things are so habitually a part of his every-day life causes him not to recognize them as human relationships. When, however, there comes a crisis like the late war he discovers that he is a citizen of the world. The daily satisfactions of his life are restricted because some corner of the world is in trouble or some channel of transportation and communication is clogged.

The crying need of our civic life is social and political intelligence, and a purposeful devotion to the public welfare. The greatest issues of human life are not how to conquer nature, but how to live together in mutual helpfulness. The great disturbing facts of life such as international strife, industrial strife, and racial strife result from the fact that we cannot escape from our interdependence one with another and have not yet perfectly learned the art and science of civic and social life.

There is need for the same careful study of the facts of human associations that we continuously make of material and mechanical phenomena. The study of civic relations in both its day-by-day and wider world meaning should make good citizens, just as the study of engineering should make efficient engineers or the study of any other system and organization of facts should train men for efficiency in those fields. Furthermore, all moral problems are civic problems and *vice versa*. We must, therefore, know the ethics of good citizenship. How can people live with any surety of ultimate success unless they study the aims, purpose, and values of all life? Aristotle said, "The good citizen is the good man." Jesus said, "Ye are members one of the other." Democracy rests upon a faith that these two things can be made the basis of a successful government. They can be, only when the citizens become socially intelligent, individually conscientious, and enthusiastic for and loyal to the common welfare.

Summary and Conclusion. The purpose of this chapter has been to show that persons, in everything they do, are influenced by others; that the outstanding characteristic of each individual's daily life is the fact that he has numerous

sets of human relationships; that he is not a citizen merely because he has the right to vote or because he is loyal to his government, though both of these are his rights and duties; that he is a citizen because everything he does and thinks and is is conditioned by his relations with other people. He is therefore, in teamwork in everything he does. His chief task, as a citizen, is to learn how to co-operate or practice team play in the various groups of which he is a member. The chief measure of his good citizenship is his effectiveness as a contributor to the life, the programs, and the accomplishments of these groups. In present-day life he can be effective and successful only as he learns to live and work together with others. He ought to learn to do these things, just as he ought to learn an occupation or profession and just as he ought to learn how to live healthfully and work efficiently.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

COOLEY, C. H., *Human Nature and The Social Order*, Chap. I.

BLACKMAR, F. W., and GILLEN, J. W., *Outlines of Sociology*, Chap. I.

HILL, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chap. I.

HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of American Democracy*, pp. 1-16.

MAINS, G. P., *United States Citizenship*, Chap. IV.

DUNN, A. W., *Community Civics and Rural Life*, Chaps. I, II and III.

TUFTS, J. H., *The Real Business of Living*, Chaps. I and XXXII.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Name the things you can do without relying on any one else in any way.
2. Why are people patriotic?
3. Why do we require foreigners to be naturalized before we allow them to vote?
4. Why are you a Democrat or a Republican?
5. What right has the government to restrict an individual's activities in any way?
6. Try to name all the human relations which functioned in your life yesterday.

CHAPTER II

HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE HOME

The family is a primary social institution. We saw in Chapter I that the order in which our group contacts influence us places the family or the home first in importance and magnitude. We saw also that the family is one of our great major social institutions. The home is unique among the major institutions of society. The church, the school, government and industry, constitute entirely different types of association from that of the home. The family is a primary association. It is primary in that it precedes all other human relationships and is, more or less, a training place for all other human adjustments and activities. Practically every general type of human relationship in which men are called upon to participate in later life is necessarily practiced in the family life of the average person.

In the family both sexes are present; the young and the old are there; the questions of making a living are discussed and each member of the family is likely to be called upon to participate in the solution of family economic problems to some degree. A great amount of education takes place in the family. Religious and political attitudes are expressed by the adults of the family, and the younger members assimilate them. Courtesy, obedience, loyalty, altruism, teamwork, manners, ideas, ideals, and ambitions are developed in the home. Many times an occupation is learned in the home. Practically every type of question and problem with which the children of the home will in after years be concerned is presented, discussed, and in one way or another resolved within the family circle.

A detailed analysis of the adjustments that the members of a family make one to another will show that upon the types

of habits, attitudes, and viewpoints which develop in family life, will depend the types of persons the members of the family will become. Children learn how to treat persons of their own sex and age with fairness. They learn how to treat persons of the opposite sex, of their own ages, with both fairness and courtesy. They learn the correct relationship between themselves and both men and women of adult years. All members of the family learn the need of a division of labor in the performance of a common task. Justice between different members of the family is almost universal. The opinion of the group is allowed to prevail, to a large degree, in the family. A fair distribution of the economic dividends among the various members of the family group is not only present, but lasts long after members of the family have departed from the parental home. The great need for good citizenship suggests that we ought to carry over the principles and practices of social adjustment, which we learn and habitually practice in family life, to all other human relationships. The family is a training-place for life. The need is that the training received in the home be made to bear fruit in our larger social life.

It is in the family that the child becomes acquainted with the usual and customary practices of society. From the time a child is two or three years of age he is taught what he should and should not do, what he must and must not do. These restrictions are merely means to maintain the customary relationships which older members of society have established and which they know the child must learn sooner or later. The statement that "a new-born babe is a savage" expresses the idea that all civilization is a thing which each generation must learn. An infant has no notion of other persons' rights, of fairness and justice, of manners and customs. Persons learn these things gradually throughout life and learn a very large body of them by example and precept in their long period of home life.

In one stage of society practically all government and many functions which other social institutions now perform were performed by the family group. The early family group, or

clan, consisted of more than the parents and their children. It consisted of all relatives of at least three generations. Nevertheless, most of the relationships which now maintain in our modern families existed in these larger kinship groups. Laws were made by the family group which constituted the only legal code of the time. Justice was meted out by a jury or council, or often by the oldest male member of the group. The individual's occupation and division of labor was set for him by rules and customs which prevailed in the clan. Whom he should marry, what he should eat and wear, where he should live, what his religion should be, and whom his friends and associates should be, were all determined strictly within the kinship group. As a matter of fact, the governmental obligations and restrictions that were set by his own relatives were much more drastic than any that are known under our democratic form of government to-day. He might even be called upon or drafted to fight in a feud with which he was not personally concerned at all. Some of these obligations and restrictions were undoubtedly handicaps to individual liberty, but the teamwork, co-operation, and joint responsibilities which were assured in behalf of the common good were assets which are worth preserving and perpetuating.

Gradually the home has lost its pure governmental functions in the political sense. It yet retains the functions of personal training in processes and adjustments to other persons and these processes and adjustments constitute the basis of almost all other and later human relations.

The family is a social group. Like all other groups, it must have rules of conduct. It must have a system by means of which justice can be assured. It must have a system of rewards and penalties. The home is not organized into legislative, judicial, and executive divisions, but these functions are regularly performed and all members of the family become cognizant of them and convinced of their need. The modern family operates considerably more like a democracy than at any previous period of the world's history. It probably operates more in keeping with our ideals of democracy than does any other group in society. In the ancient Roman family the

father had power to condemn his children to death and there was no law beyond him. To-day such punishment may not be assigned or prescribed within the family, but the boy or girl who is allowed habitually to disregard the welfare of the family is almost sure to disregard the rights of others in the larger social life and is likely to be that type of a citizen who looks upon law as a thing to dodge. The child who is allowed to be unfair with his brothers and sisters and dishonest with his parents will be the man who is unfair and dishonest in every walk of life.

Some functions of the home about which little is said are those of providing an eating and sleeping place for practically all the population of the world. These functions are so universal that we never stop to think of the difficulties which would arise if a city or county had to provide boarding and lodging accommodations for all of its citizens. Furthermore, it is about the fireside and at the table that all those subtle influences which we have just discussed are woven into the habits and attitudes of the children.

The family is an educational agency. A child's personality is made in the home and his personality or character is more fundamental than all he may later learn. The home is an isolated training ground. For the first few years of the child's life no other influence touches him. All his adjustments are to the members of his own family. All his manners and habits, all his ideas of ethics and justice, are based upon the family code. He not only learns many things during his period of childhood, but it is exceptional if there is ever another period of life which does so much to mold his whole attitude toward life as the period of early youth. Later, as he enters school and habituates the play places, he will be influenced by persons who are not members of his own family group. Even then, for from ten to fifteen years, he will return to his home regularly to eat and sleep, and the early systems of conduct and influences will continue largely to dominate his life.

It is the long period of human infancy and the universal system of family life which do for the members of the family psychologically and sociologically what inheritance does for

them biologically. The son is even more likely to be "a chip off the old block" in habits and attitudes than he is in physical stature. This is because of the subtle training which is inculcated in his very nature during his long period of home life.

As necessary as schools are, and as essential as it is that they teach human relations, they can never be as important a training-place for citizenship as are the homes. If a child were to start to school when five years of age and attend school regularly, nine months out of the year, until he had been graduated from college at the age of twenty-two years, he would have spent less than 2 per cent of the waking hours of his life in school. He would probably have spent from twenty to thirty times as many hours within his parents' home.

It is not so much that he spends a great amount of time in the home or the specific things that he learns in the home that constitute the family life a fundamental educational agency. It is that he learns the primary or fundamental adjustments and attitudes of life. He learns obedience to the group's way of doing things, loyalty to the group's welfare, and altruism or co-operation in common tasks. His temperament is made in the home. His emotions are educated there. His general attitudes and philosophy of life are formed there. Throughout all life and in all relationships he will be largely what these elements in his personality dictate.

The family or home is such a fundamental social institution that society and governments carefully safeguard it. The family, like all other of our social institutions, performs such fundamental functions that its integrity is carefully safeguarded. It is a product of survival in successfully performing certain very worth-while functions in life. The functions of the family are the bearing of children and the rearing and training of them in the customs, traditions, and standards of society. Every form of family organization imaginable has been practiced at some time and in some place. Our present form of family life is the end product of countless ages of human experience. It has made good its right to exist by competing with all other forms of family organization in bearing and rearing children.

It is questionable whether human beings ever lived in the communistic and promiscuous ways that many beasts do. They have lived in polygyny, where one husband had a number of wives. They have lived in polyandry, where one wife had a number of husbands. They have practiced group marriage among the early Germanic people and still practice it in some of the aboriginal tribes of Australia. There have been places where the line of descent was traced through the mother and in some cases the old women seemed to be the chief rulers of the households or clans. Gradually, however, the monogamic family, one husband and one wife with their own offspring about them, has come to constitute the standard family organization. This form of family has triumphed in competition with all other forms because it could more surely guarantee the preservation of the lives of children. It also constitutes the surest vehicle for transmitting the customs and traditions of the race to each succeeding generation. This second function is performed during the long period of home life that was discussed in the pages above. To-day the monogamic form of family organization is spreading very rapidly throughout the world. The rights of women and children are becoming better established. It is becoming evident that the home has functions more important than those of a boarding and lodging house and other functions as important even as the bearing of children.

Practically all nations recognize the necessity of safeguarding their homes. They pass laws which punish any one who jeopardizes wholesomeness and survival of family life. Marriage is made legitimate by law. Divorce must be sanctioned by law. The violation of the sex integrity of the home is often penalized by death. The original homestead is not taxed in some states. The parents are made legally responsible for the acts of their children until the children have reached their majority. The sanctity of the home is guaranteed by the state and nation in order that the contribution which the home makes to society may be assured.

The state goes even further by enforcing certain good conditions in the home. Many cities have minimum housing

restrictions. Sanitation is enforced by law. Cruelty to children is forbidden. Education is made compulsory. Regulations are prescribed for the care of infants. The home must be safeguarded against fire, and in many other ways states and municipalities guarantee the welfare and efficiency of the home. Whenever the home is performing a function which the state recognizes as valuable, it safeguards that function, and whenever the home fails to safeguard the welfare of its members or whenever it jeopardizes the life of the neighborhood or the community, the state legislates concerning its life and practice.

The family is an economic unit of society. Looked at from the point of view of consumption, the family is the basic economic unit of all society. In past times it was universally the unit of economic production also. The domestic system of production broke down in manufacturing with the coming of the industrial revolution and factory system. It still prevails in rural life and is by no means completely obsolete in other economic occupations than farming. In India, China, Mexico, and in fact practically all areas of the world except Europe, America, Japan, and territories immediately adjacent to these nations, the family system of economic enterprise still prevails. But even if the family were nowhere an economic unit in production, it would still be the most fundamental economic unit in society because of being the final unit in the use of economic goods.

A civilization is measured in terms of the standard of living which it maintains. All educational, missionary, and social welfare work is for the purpose of raising the standard of living of a total population or some portion of it. The chief physical consumption goods are food, clothing, shelter, and health facilities. The chief cultural consumption goods are education, religion, recreation, and art. These are for the most part furnished by the home or through the home. At least they are made available through family income. If the family income is not sufficient to provide these necessary and desirable things the children go through life handicapped because of the lack of them.

A typical farm family furnishes the best example of the family as an economic unit in both production and consumption. The farm is the unit of economic enterprise. All members of the family participate in the work to be done. Even the small children have their division of labor. They work under the guidance and supervision of their parents and are not likely to work at injurious tasks. They grow to manhood and womanhood working in co-operation with all other members of the family. The mother participates in the economic enterprise by taking care of the family and the house, cooking the meals, making and mending the clothes, doing the laundry work, raising the poultry, often working in the garden, helping with the chores, and sometimes helping in the field work during rush seasons. The boys of the farm family quite often learn their occupations from an apprenticeship under their fathers and more often than city boys follow their fathers' occupations. The girls, too, learn the art and science of house-keeping from their mothers and to a very considerable degree marry farmers and follow the occupation of their mothers. This system of apprenticeship and inheritance of occupation was but a hundred and fifty years ago universal in society. It yet exists among the vast majority of the populations of the world. It is probably most universal and absolute under the caste system of India. At the time when it was universally practiced, the home was by comparison a much more fundamental economic unit and educational agency than it is now.

The family is an integral unit of all society. Although the family in its daily life and close personal relations, one member with another, is a very restricted association, it is nevertheless part and parcel of all society. In the modern world it is no longer self-sufficient economically or socially. It sells the product of its economic endeavors to the world and draws its consumption goods from society at large. It goes to church for much of its formal religion, to school for its formal education, to picture shows, theaters, or playgrounds for its recreation, and to voting precinct, city hall, or court-house for its political practices. Its life and practices are reflected in all walks of life, even if many of the functions which it at one time

performed have been delegated to other institutions and agencies. Upon the amount of its economic income and upon its general social attitudes depend the survival and success of all other institutions and agencies.

We have seen how law and government enter the home and how the family organization is interwoven with the functioning of other institutions and agencies. We should now note how the types of family life reflect themselves most obviously in the life of society. If the family is not successful economically it becomes dependent upon the county, state, or municipality. If it is morally delinquent its members become criminal, and thereby not only a burden upon the state, but a menace to all members of society. If it is a ne'er-do-well family it will not and cannot support the other institutions of society, does not own its home or pay either income or property taxes to support the government. Set off against the deficient type of family are the good families which educate their children for participation in all activities of life, train them in the customs and standards of society, and build healthy, virile citizens. Bad families throw their members upon society as a burden, breed crime, poverty, and other maladjustments, and build unhealthy, ignorant, burdensome, and vicious citizens.

The home, even the family residence, is the constant environment of over half of our population, the women and the small children, all of the time, and of all our population for a large proportion of the time. Therefore, the moral and intellectual environment of family life is important in the development of good citizenship. In our large cities millions of children are reared in houses that are provided with neither adequate space, home conveniences, sanitary equipment, adequate light, heat, nor ventilation. In one congested block in New York City sixteen hundred persons live. Nor are bad housing conditions confined to the city slums. Housing is one of the weakest spots in rural life. Farm houses are often old, poorly lighted, almost universally poorly heated and ventilated, and hundreds of thousands of them are one and two room houses. If society would provide training for good citizenship it must see that a good physical home environment

is provided for its population during the habit and attitude forming ages by insuring sufficient economic income so that the family may provide an adequate house. It must pass laws guaranteeing good housing or care for its population in institutions other than individual family residences.

Society must see that its family life is good or recognize that the roots from which good citizenship grows are not being preserved. We have noted, slightly, the differences between the family life of to-day and a few hundred years ago. Many changes that have taken place within family life and many of the new relationships of the family to other institutions and agencies have undoubtedly been for the improvement of society. There are, however, many problems and maladjustments which have resulted from the change in the place which the family holds in society. Few of us would want to see the family thrown back on its old economic and social self-sufficiency. We would not want to be robbed of the desirable things which we get from the outside world. Few of us would want to see the matter of life and death placed in the hands of the father as it was in ancient Roman times. We would not want to be thrust back into a system of family blood feuds with no state and national laws to protect us. We would not want to see women and children reduced to the status of slaves or chattels. But when we see industry encroaching upon family life to the extent that the death or disability of the father or his low economic income makes it necessary for the mother and children to go out of the home to the factory to work for long hours and sometimes at night, we recognize that the fundamental and primary institution of the home is being handicapped in the performance of its valuable rôle in society. When we learn that for every eight or nine marriages in the United States there is a home broken by divorce, and that this evil has trebled in the last fifty years, we recognize that the integrity of the home is breaking down and that unless the progressive breakdown is checked the day will come when stable home life as an institution will be a thing of the past.

The solution to these encroaching evils depends upon a deep appreciation and sure knowledge of the functions which

normal family life performs in the life of society at large. This appreciation and intelligence can be gained only by inculcating into our home, school, and other educational agencies definite and thorough training for home and family life and by a recognition on the part of all persons that the home is not only the nursery of the state and nation, but, for the long periods of childhood and youth, is the training ground for all human relations.

Summary and Conclusions. The family is a primary social institution because it constitutes the constant and stable environment of the child for a number of years before any other human relations come to play a part in life. The personality of the child is largely developed in the home, and his personality has more to do with all his human relations than any other one thing.

The values of home life are so well recognized that all civilizations guard the integrity of their homes. They could probably well afford to go much further than they do in seeing that every child has the opportunities of normal childhood. In no other way could they so surely influence all types of social activity and so surely guarantee the rightness of all human relations.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

DEALEY, J. Y., *The Family in Its Sociological Aspects*, Chap. XI.

DUNN, A. W., *Community Civics for City Schools*, Chap. IX.

ELLWOOD, C. A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chaps. IV and VIII.

GOODSELL, W., *The History of the Family as a Social and Educational Agency*.

HILL, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chap. II.

KIRKPATRICK, E. A., *Fundamentals of Sociology*, Chap. XV.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Where did the family come from?
2. Is the family or the school the greater educational agency?
3. Why do we not allow fathers to kill their children as the Roman father might do?

4. What is the difference between family life now and five hundred years ago?
5. What right has the government to interfere with family life?
6. What are the results in family life when one of the parents is dead?

CHAPTER III

HUMAN RELATIONS IN EDUCATION

The school is one of our major social institutions. Thomas Jefferson said over a century ago, "I have two great measures at heart, without which no republic can maintain itself in strength: first, that of general education, to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or enlarge his freedom; second, to divide every county into hundreds of such size that all the children of each will be within reach of a central school within it."

Schools are a necessity in a civilization or society so complex that many forces which influence a person in his daily life cannot be personally known to his individual physical experience. In the days before trade and commerce arose people knew their total physical environment and knew fairly intimately all persons with whom they had anything to do. Few of them, however, knew anyone outside their own isolated group. With the coming of apt means of transportation and communication there arose an interchange of goods and services between groups. This intergroup activity greatly enlarged the environment of everyone. The result is, to-day even in our home life we touch the ends of the earth and are influenced by forces and people whom we cannot possibly know personally.

The fact that the world has become one big trade community has involved it politically and in all other social ways. Unless we have some sure way of keeping ever cognizant of the affairs of this world community we are unable to live successfully in it. The sum total of knowledge necessary a few hundred years ago for living successfully could be transmitted by word of mouth from parent to child during the period of childhood and youth but now that is impossible.

To-day some agency of wider scope than the home must

perform a large part of the function of communicating knowledge from one generation to another. Institutions arise out of the necessity of valuable functions to be performed and survive and grow if they successfully perform those functions. The school is an institution whose function it is to lay at the feet of each new generation the accumulated experience of all past generations and to place each new generation in touch with the world of its own day.

The school is a community, state, national, and world institution. It is a community institution in that it is located in the local community and draws its pupils or students from the local community. It is a state institution in that educational legislation, administration, and support are functions of the state rather than the nation, except where these matters are left to the counties or local communities. It is a national institution in the sense that the United States has a free public-school system and supports it by sentiment and sometimes assists it financially. The school's larger significance rests in the fact that it is a social or world institution. That is, wherever civilization has advanced to any considerable degree it has become desirable and almost necessary to set up schools in order that the members of the political, economic, and social group may learn those things which are necessary to successful participation in the complex life of society.

The home, the neighborhood, and the occupations could perform the complete task of education in a simple, homogeneous society and can and will continue to start each new generation in life, but the schools must take the next necessary long step by supplying the knowledge and the tools for the adjustments to that larger life and set of activities which lie beyond the experience of family life. With books, maps, charts, laboratories, and specialized teachers at his command, during twelve years of primary and secondary school education, a child can learn more about the world to-day than he could if he were to live to be as old as Methuselah and was compelled to learn everything through his own experience or by word of mouth.

There are something like 25,000,000 persons attending

schools of all kinds in the United States to-day. We have almost \$2,000,000,000 worth of public-school property and spend about one-half that amount in annual support of our public schools. The division of society's labor that is placed upon the schools is to prepare persons to participate efficiently in the life of the society which furnishes them other opportunities, and to give persons a knowledge of the world and how to live together with the other people in it. In a society so complex as the one in which we live, education is so essential that we willingly pay large sums of money to prepare persons for life in it.

One of the contributions which the school makes to the training of boys and girls for the necessary adjustment of group life is apparent in the new things which the school introduces into a child's daily life as soon as he enters school. At home the child has been imbibing or assimilating the adjustments to the members of his immediate family and to the family as a group from earliest infancy. In the family he seldom obeys rules because he fails to recognize them as rules. In early life he has few if any tasks to perform. His mother has often been a personal servant for him, and in all ways he has enjoyed a freedom and license which it would be quite impossible for him to practice throughout life. In school he discovers rules as rules. If these be properly administered, he learns that they are for the protection and welfare of the total school group and for the efficiency of the school work. He learns obedience to these rules, orderliness, and industry in accomplishing definite tasks, promptness and regularity in activities. All these things not only carry him far and fast in school accomplishment, but are habits essential to his life activities in after years.

Universal education is a necessity in a government of and by the people. The "common schools" are exactly what our free elementary public schools are and ought to be. They are the agencies of society which, more than any other, attempt to level up the inequalities which obtain between families. They attempt to place all members of society on a common footing in life by giving persons equal educational oppor-

tunities. It would be foolish to assume that they accomplish these functions perfectly, for the influence of families goes far beyond the school period and the opportunities which some parents open to their children after school days are much greater than are afforded to the majority. Nevertheless, in the common school, all the children do study the same things, all sit in similar seats and use the same physical equipment, all play together, are subject to the same rules of conduct, and are influenced by all who are in attendance at that school.

It is because we recognize the great civic good that is accomplished by even so meager an education as is furnished in the elementary school that almost all states make that amount of school training compulsory for all persons. The state or nation that holds all persons equally responsible before the law must furnish all possible means of assuring equality of opportunity to all its citizens. A commonwealth that attempts to maintain a government of and by the people can guarantee the efficiency of that government only by enlightening its citizenry. It is even justified in enforcing enlightenment in order to guard its own welfare and survival.

A political democracy cannot flourish unless political and social intelligence is developed in the electorate. A system of education which trains only for occupations or furnishes only a rudimentary or even classical education will not do. Men must be taught to act intelligently, politically, and socially as well as learn the "three R's." The school must educate for citizenship as well as for the occupations and professions. In a monarchy, where the vote of the ignorant man counts for little or not at all, the lack of civic knowledge does very little damage, but in a republic where each person's vote is equal to every other person's vote, universal civic education is a necessity. Education is the friend of democracy and through all time has been the chief enemy of autocracy. An autocracy is based upon definite and assumed perpetual difference in class status which is recognized by everyone. A democracy is based upon an intelligent knowledge of and capacity to share in the interests of other members of the group, and in fact in the interests of the group as a whole. Such interest depends upon

common knowledge and ready mental contacts between all members of the group. Ignorance sets up barriers to such contacts. Education and enlightenment break them down.

Our educational advantages are not universal in the United States. The advantages of the common school should be guaranteed to the children of all states equally. No state should be allowed to handicap efficient national citizenship. Even the adults who grew to maturity before the educational advantages were as good as they are to-day should be provided with free public night schools and continuation schools in order that they may be educated in common with the younger citizens. The voter who can neither read nor write is handicapped and even may be vicious in a government of and by the people. And yet six per cent of all persons over ten years of age in the United States in 1920 could neither read nor write.

The school is a community within itself. The function of the school is too often thought of as ending with the categorical training obtained through the subjects included in the prescribed curriculum. On the contrary, some of the best training for citizenship is obtained from school life. Every school is a community. It is a group of persons who systematically live, work, and play together hours, days, and even years.

To think of a school merely as a place to prepare for life is to ignore one of its larger aspects, for a school is a place where people live and act. Public opinion rules to a very large degree in school life, especially on the playground and in all activities other than the course of study. Furthermore, the influence of the school community upon the individuals within it is much more definite than it is in a neighborhood or any other type of association except the public playground, for in the school community the contacts are universally face to face.

The school organization as a whole is an exceptionally good community because it operates in a supervised environment. The modern school has organized and supervised play. In the course of study all the detrimental and damaging ideas and ideals are presumably eliminated. The whole school environ-

ment is a selected and controlled environment. This is important because bad and damaging factors of life are as readily learned by a child as by any others. On the playground and in the average neighborhood associations, even in the family life, the bad is often mixed with the good. This is true to a degree on the school playground and on the way to and from school, but it is supposed not to be true at all in the schoolroom. Morals are learned through school activities and from the social environment. It is, therefore, no small part of the school life and the school's opportunity to furnish wholesome activity and a good environment during the many hours and days that children and youths are under its tutelage.

The school is a training-place for citizenship through its extra curricula activities, athletics, debates, societies, and clubs which develop group loyalty and school spirit. If adults in society were as loyal to and enthusiastic over the success and well-being of their governments and governmental representatives as pupils and students are in school life, we would have a solicitude for good and successful government which is almost universally lacking now, except when our nation is involved in international conflict.

Schools could go much further than many of them do in developing group conduct and group ideals. The practice of school self-government is direct practice in citizenship. The student by participation in such a government not only learns the actual techniques of representative government, legislation, and administration of justice, but the school develops a body of public opinion which is valuable in school conduct. Furthermore, the student who comes to recognize the function and rule of public opinion has come in contact with the most powerful influence in a democracy.

School projects, involving the whole school population, such as beautifying and caring for the school grounds, competitive games, and interscholastic activities, as well as student self-government, furnish opportunities for valuable training in citizenship. Such activities demand group activity and develop group loyalties which are valuable in other human relations.

The use of school buildings and grounds for other than school functions, and the adding to the school's primary function numerous activities not directly connected with the curriculum, are leading students into contact with some of the problems and activities which are a part of the common life of larger society. No community can or should live unto itself. The school, like all other communities, must receive the sanctions, support, and sympathetic understanding of persons who are not a part of its daily life. The home-and-school movement, parent-teacher associations, the use of the school grounds and buildings for outside neighborhood and community activities, not only make the school a better financial investment, but add to the sentiment, loyalty, and enthusiasm of the school as a group organization. The attachment of a public library to the school, the operation of an attendance officer, classes for backward or mentally deficient students, the school clinic, open-air classes for tubercular students, welfare work, adult and continuation schools, all maintained in co-operation with the school, put the students in touch with problems which are a part of the life of society in which they live. Such projects furnish to the youth civic education of the most valuable sort, as well as render valuable service to the community.

The contents of the school curriculum should educate for life and for living. The child comes to school knowing little, if anything, except life as it is lived day by day. The institutionalization of education—that is, the centralizing of education in schools and the crystallizing of it into the subjects in the curriculum—has had a tendency to detach much of our teaching from the immediate facts of living. If the schools fail to connect up with life as it is lived and must be lived day by day, they will fail to be one of our chief educational agencies, though a goodly portion of the student life is spent within them. Persons learn by doing and are stimulated to learn in order that they may more successfully carry on life's normal activities. They will, therefore, be interested in and directed by those things which they can most readily recognize as related to their world of affairs. If the school fails to deal with

the world of affairs, then those activities and institutions which do relate to the students' world of affairs will dominate and direct their energies and interests and automatically will become the chief educational forces of society.

There is no object in making education abstract. So-called general or cultural education, separate from life's activities, is not only not educational at all, but is impossible. The student may feel impelled to memorize the categories of abstract subjects, but he will never inculcate such things into his habits and personality. They will not, therefore, influence his conduct or attitude and can never reflect themselves in worthwhile activity. Furthermore, it is not necessary to teach in abstractions in order to place the student in contact with the larger world of which he is a part and to make him cognizant of the forces and influences which play a part in his life. Quite the converse is true. All education is general and cultural if its relationships and bearings on life's activities are made clear. The idea that the so-called humanities and classics must be reduced to abstractions because they are studies of past life is fallacious. Such methods of treating these subjects rob them of their richness and take from them the part they should perform in educating the student for life in a world environment. The study of cultures and civilizations, and a study of institutions, customs, literature, and life is the only education that can be cultural in a dynamic sense.

The tendency to get away from the stultification and futility of studying dead languages, abstract classics, and so-called disciplinary subjects, at times leads too far in the other direction. The idea becomes prevalent that all education is for the future. This, too, is impossible in any specific and sure fashion, for the future cannot be accurately predicted. Education is for life. Social worth is the only sure criterion of the subject-matter of the curriculum, and social worth must be in known terms of present activities. If the student learns not only facts, but learns to learn, he will be capable of successful participation in the life and events of the future.

At times the aversion to abstract education leads to an overemphasis on training in the detailed manipulation of trades

and occupations. To do this is also to rob education of its broader functions. It is no small part of a student's education to learn the necessity of performing a definite division of society's labor, but it is tragic if in learning the technique and technologies of a trade and occupation he is robbed of that training which has to do with human relationships and fails to get an appreciation and understanding of the life and activity of the world of the past and present. It is possible to train a person so well, or at least so narrowly, for a trade or profession that he will be handicapped in actual civic life.

The course of study in the common schools, in some of its elements, is particularly well adapted to education for social life in a modern world. The "three R's," which are sometimes unduly criticized, are the absolutely fundamental necessities for participation in a society which is larger than a local neighborhood. They are the vehicle of communications between persons who are not in face-to-face contact. To be able to read, write, and use numbers is essential to communicating with persons outside one's immediate physical environment. If the course of study in the common schools had to be reduced to three subjects, reading, writing, and arithmetic, would have to be those three subjects.

Science, geography, and history are probably the next most important subjects in training a student for knowledge of and participation in the world's affairs. Geography, if properly taught, introduces the child to the physical world in which he lives. History teaches him about the world's people. These two subjects open the eyes of the child to the world which lies beyond his own community and introduces him to the fact that the life of his community is thoroughly interwoven with the life of society at large.

Just as history and geography introduce a person to his larger physical and cultural environment, so science frees him from local and purely incidental factors of life and introduces him to the laws of the physical and organic world. Science, in the form of nature study, should be a part of the course of study from the first year of school and should be enlarged in its scope and interpretation all through the school training.

Next to geography, history, and science in the school course of study should come the social sciences—economics, sociology, political science, and social ethics. They need not and must not be taught abstractly, as they so often are in our higher institutions of learning. They can be taught as early in the course of study as geography and history. The child has been in contact with and participated in the life activities of the family, neighborhood, and school for a number of years; he has seen exchange of economic goods and has himself often done some trading. He has seen the operation of government on all sides and has participated in social life from hundreds of angles. He knows more about the civic or social facts and factors of life when he comes to school than he does about any other set of facts and processes which appear as a part of his school study. A course in citizenship, including a description and analysis of all civic relationships, local and world wide, should be a part of every school curriculum.

Education is the progressive adjustment to the changing circumstances of life and is the chief means of social progress. A person is never completely educated. Every step in the learning process simply furnishes him more tools and techniques with which to take the next step, and every next step will demand other adjustments and thus involve further learning. The chief function of a school education is to teach persons to know how progressively to discover the world in all of its aspects, themselves a part of it, and to live abundantly in it by making adaptations to it and use of it. Education is education, in the true sense, to the degree that it creates the desire and capacity for further mental growth.

The school as an institution, more than the home, is capable of progressive adaptation to the changing life of the world. The family life and practices continue astonishingly uniform from generation to generation because of the rule of custom. Each generation imbibes its thoughts and picks up its customs from observation of the previous generation. In the school there is a systematic and conscious revision of subject-matter based upon the new discoveries of the world. Education is, therefore, our chief agency of progress.

The modifications in life come chiefly through learning new and better ways of doing things. The progress of the past has not come through the development of a better racial stock, although we have learned much about the protection and preservation of life. It has come through learning more about our physical and social world and how to use this world for human happiness and welfare.

A society based solely or largely upon customs kills individual variations. A society based upon constant learning uses individual variations as the materials of progress. Greece failed to educate for life adjustments, and though she developed wonderful philosophies about the beginnings and ultimates of life, she failed to educate for the necessary next step and so failed to take that step. Education makes a man capable of doing the things which he is likely to do, or must do, better than he could without it. It prepares him mentally to learn the new adjustments as they arise in life.

There is a tremendous need for social education in order that we may make sure adjustments to the most rapidly changing conditions. All the facts and problems which arose out of the coming of the Industrial Revolution are comparatively new and could not possibly have been foreseen. They have arisen as a result of the great progress made in mechanical inventions, industrial technologies and techniques. They present some of the most pressing problems of our age and these problems await a sure social and political intelligence to solve them. These matters will constitute the subject material for the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that an educational system that does not train citizens to cope with these issues is not educating for life and living.

Summary and Conclusion. Education is another name for the learning process. Persons must learn to live. Life is a meshwork of human relations. Each individual life and all social and civic life is successful just to the degree that human relations are co-operative and helpful. Modern societies maintain schools because the life of modern civilization is so complex that persons cannot learn to live it successfully by means of that stock of experiences which each person might have as

an individual. The conditions of life are ever changing. Education must, therefore, be the process of learning to learn and thereby learning to make progressive adaptations to the changing circumstances of life.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

DEWEY, J., *Democracy and Education*, Chaps. I, II, and VII.

HILL, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chap. III.

HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of American Democracy*, Chap. I.

SNEDDEN, D., *The Sociological Objectives in Education*.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Were men educated before we had schools?
2. When is a person educated?
3. Is it right to compel children to go to school?
4. Does an education pay?
5. Would it be desirable for everyone to go to college?
6. What is the function of the common schools? High schools? Colleges?
7. When and how is a man culturally educated?
8. How can education defeat its own purpose?

CHAPTER IV

HUMAN RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY

Our industries constitute one of our major social institutions. A great mill or factory is as much an institution in a community as is a church or school. The systematic rôle that the total industrial establishment plays in our national life is so fundamental to our existence and happiness that we must allot it a place with the other four great social institutions, the home, the church, the school, and government. A process of life becomes institutionalized in society when the function it performs is vital and when it continues in existence for a long period of time. That the manufacturing or refining of goods is a vital function everyone will agree. That industry, in the form of our present factory system of production, has been in existence longer than our free public-school system and for about the same length of time as our American government, proves its permanence and indicates that there have evolved fairly institutionalized ways of carrying on the vital functions which it performs.

Industry as an institution is considerably different from the family or the church, in that changes within its organization and conduct are initiated for the sake of profit and on the basis of demonstrated laboratory and engineering methods, while the conduct of the family and church changes only by impact from influences without themselves and by accretions from the social order of which they are a part. Furthermore, industry is much more complex than any other social institution except government.

A single industrial organization or enterprise does not constitute an institution in a true sociological sense. Indirectly, as a whole, however, it is an institution in that it is that piece of social machinery which takes products as they are produced

by nature and converts them into the forms which satisfy the needs, desires, and taste of the consuming public. It is in its totality that it is an institution. As such it includes almost two hundred major types of manufacturing establishments and hundreds of thousands of individual shops and refining establishments in the United States. These factories and shops manufacture thousands of different kinds of goods and carry on all our so-called mechanical work. They constitute a complex composite of materials, machines, men, money, and markets. They involve practically the whole business and commercial establishment of the world, dictate the standard of living of over thirty million of our national population, and furnish the channel through which at least one-half of all consumable goods flow from the producer to the consumer.

Industrial organization constitutes one of the most complex pieces of social machinery the world has ever known. Its vital rôle in our existence makes it so definite a part of our day-by-day life that its proper organization and conduct are fundamental to hundreds of human relations which lie completely outside the walls of any industrial establishment.

Our society is predominantly an industrial society. Individualized industry is a comparatively new thing in the world. It has been in existence but a few hundred years and as a great factory system, run by mechanical power, it is scarcely more than one hundred and fifty years old. Concisely stated, the vital rôle of industry is to furnish in usable forms the physical necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter products. Men for long ages used the products of the earth in the forms that nature produced them. They went where the fruits, berries, herbs, and roots grew, where the wild game ran in the forests, and where the fish swam in the streams, and collected products for consumption. This stage of economic evolution is called “the stage of direct appropriation,” for all that was necessary was to appropriate nature’s gifts for man’s uses.

When men learned to domesticate plants and animals and to nurture and cultivate them they greatly increased the possibility and ease of obtaining the necessities of life in abundance. This is generally known as “the pastoral stage,” because

the population of the earth at that time depended to a great degree upon the products of herds and flocks. During the pastoral stage, primitive cultivation of plants was also practiced and people still used products which could be obtained by direct appropriation.

Gradually, by invention and discovery, methods of refining all kinds of goods, by cooking, tanning, smelting, grinding, etc., took place. This increased further the usefulness of products and added many products to the list of consumable goods which were not previously usable. This was the beginning of manufacturing. Because the refining or manufacturing was universally carried on by hand methods and hand tools, this is known as "the handicraft stage."

Later inventions enlarged the hand tools into hand machines, and the discovery of water power converted some of these hand machines into power machines. The manufacturing was still carried on in the home and this stage is therefore known as "the domestic system." The domestic system of manufacturing is still quite common in the interior of India and is used to a considerable degree even in Belgium, France, Holland, and some other European countries.

The present stage in industrial development was reached with the invention of machines which made possible the use of steam as power. We have now added gasoline, a few other explosives, and electricity. These new elements of power made it possible to use great machines, centralized machines at sources of power, and located them at places where raw products could be more readily assembled and finished products more easily shipped out over the great transportation lines. Railroads and steamships have come also as a result of the invention of steam-propelled machinery.

Each stage of industrial development made it easier to obtain the necessities of life, to add luxuries to the list of consumable goods, and in every way to enrich men's lives and to free them from the stern rule of nature. Each stage of industrial development enlarged the communities in which men lived by making necessary the exchange of goods. The exchange of goods was not only possible, but necessary, due to

the division of labor and the specialization of tasks. During the direct appropriation stage, the pastoral stage, the handicraft stage and even to a very considerable extent during the domestic stage each family was a self-sufficient economic unit. When, however, the process of manufacturing was thoroughly established it became much more profitable for each person to do that thing which he could do most aptly and trade the products of his labor for those things in which others were specializing. This reduced the independence of the individual producer, but made it possible for him to obtain a much greater variety and volume of goods with less physical effort. It also increased the freedom of the community from nature, but made each member of the community dependent on all other members.

Society to-day, living upon the basis of specialization of functions, division of labor, and easy distribution of goods, is almost as much a unit as is the human body. What every man or group of men does is of significance to every other man or group of men. What takes place at any place in our industrial life is of importance to all people because all are dependent upon the smooth and efficient operation of all phases of industry.

The increased ease of obtaining the necessities of life, while a great gain, has brought many new and difficult problems to society. The interdependence of persons which it has set up and the great complexities of life which it has developed present problems of human relations never before known to the world. It has increased wealth, made it possible for more people to live, produced more of the necessities and comforts of life, shortened work hours, created savings for developing new undertakings, brought education, books, art, and leisure. But with these things it has brought the problems of women and child labor, all the problems connected with the wage system, the division of society into classes, the congestion of population within cities, the problems of industrial health, sanitation, housing, crime, and poverty, all of which go with congestion. It has also brought the problems of strikes and lockouts, risks to life and capital, and has in all ways done

more to increase the complexity of our social life than any other event in history.

Industrialism has made government more important and the problems of government more difficult. The great changes in life, incident to the great changes in industry, have made changes in government necessary and have added many new elements to the rule of statutory law. When all economic pursuits were carried on in the family circle and within the home there was very little necessity for the government having anything to do with industry. Large cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, are a direct result of the new industrial order. Their problems are comparatively new to government. The control and regulation of markets, the guaranteeing of a pure and sanitary food supply, the consumer's interest in production processes, which are in the hands of other persons, the public regulation of housing conditions, the problems connected with wages, upon which the standard of living of millions of people depend, the wide use of contracts between persons, the question of nuisances, fire protection, and public sanitation, the guarding of the home and education against the encroachments of the factory, and all problems connected with dividends and great wealth holdings, arose out of the coming of the factory system of production and are problems with which a government for the people must cope. The functions of government and civic life, therefore, grow more important with the growth of industrialism.

Government has almost from its beginning protected and guaranteed private property. It has always done this, however, in the interest of the public good. Now that persons have become so interdependent, government must often regulate the use of private property in the interest of the public's welfare. Furthermore, industry, while one of our major social institutions, is no more important than the home, the school, or the government. When industry breaks down the welfare of the home by low wages of the father, or jeopardizes life and health by long working hours and bad work conditions, when it robs the home of its mother by taking her into the factory,

or when it uses children of tender years in the factory, the government must step in for the sake of the general good.

Industry cannot be allowed to jeopardize other social institutions by its operation and conduct. When the use of children in factories takes them from school or starts them into blind-alley occupations the government must legislate concerning these things. If industries grow so great and powerful as to be stronger than the government itself or in any other way menace the welfare of all the people or any large segment of the population, then it is the duty of the government to regulate them just as it regulates all other necessary social activities and institutions for the greatest good to all its citizens. This is exactly what the government has done in passing minimum wage laws, women and child labor laws, maximum working laws, factory work laws, sanitation laws, pure-food laws and anti-trust laws.

The ultimate function of all industry is social service. We have seen how the standard of living of the world has been raised by the great gains that have come through better methods of production and better means of distribution. The sole civic or social justification for the existence and perpetuity of an institution is that it performs a vital function in society. A standard of living includes the sum total of the necessary and desirable things of life—food, clothing, shelter, health, education, religion, recreation, and the community life of a people. On its adequacy and stability rests all that makes life worth while. Industry, like all other functions and institutions of society, must serve these ends. Every person's health, character, morals, and enlightenment are a concern of the government. The welfare of the worker is a part of the public welfare. The public should not only reap the benefit of the industries which it protects, but must pay for the wastes and damages, whether those wastes be of, and the damages be to, materials, money, or men. There is no way that a community or government can escape the cost of a low standard of living of its people. It must pay for it by protection or by alms and the cost of crime.

The greatest issues raised by the institution of industry are

due to the prevalent attitude that an industrial establishment is a business unit whose chief object is economic gain. Such an attitude minimizes, or completely overlooks, the fact that industry is one of society's great social institutions, whose sole right to existence and protection is the service that it renders to the public. If the profit-seeking motive always led to the maximum production of consumable goods, then the gain to the public of the free and unregulated operation of the profit motive in industry would guarantee that industry would always yield a maximum of consumable goods. When, however, it restricts production in order to increase private income and thus robs the public of the maximum amount of consumable goods and the laborer of wages essential to the maintenance of a decent standard of living, or when it sacrifices the life and health of the worker in order to produce goods, the operation of the factory system becomes a matter of civic and public concern. Under such conditions the profit-seeking motive neither produces the goods nor promotes the public welfare. Monetary gains cannot compensate for sacrifice of life and health even if the monetary returns go to the one who sacrifices; much less are they justified when the sacrifice is on the part of persons to whom few economic gains go.

It is not necessary for a democracy to own and operate all of its industries in order that they may be operated in the interest of the happiness and development of society as a whole. It is necessary that the government see that industry does not deplete and rob individual and community life of its maximum development. It is also desirable that a function or enterprise which tends toward a natural monopoly should be monopolized by the government in the interest of all of the people rather than to be monopolized by some individual for private gain. Governments recognize this principle when they own and operate such enterprises as the postal service, municipal water and sewer systems, street railways, and the like. Governments, furthermore, have the right and obligation of prohibiting the production of goods, such as alcoholic beverages, which are damaging to individual health and public morals. Nor do governments stop with the regulation and

prohibition of the manufacturing of goods. They do and must go further and regulate the just distribution of the products of industry and see that there is a fair adjustment between wages, profits, interest, and rent. In short, it is necessary for a government of the people, by the people, and for the people to see that all factors and processes of life within its jurisdiction operate for the benefit of its citizens.

The problem of industrial unrest and industrial conflict is one of our greatest civic problems. An index to the different maladjustments which arise out of the operation of a great factory system of production is the conflict between capital and labor. The federal Department of Labor reports that there were 471 strikes in the country in 1861, involving 109,000 employees. In 1891 there were 1,717 strikes, involving 505,065 employees. In 1916 there were 3,177 strikes, involving 1,546,428 employees. In 1922 there were only 1,030 strikes, but two of them combined involved over 1,000,000 workmen. These facts show how directly labor disputes affect the lives of millions of our people.

The difficulties and losses incident to conflicts between employers and employees do not stop with the parties directly concerned with the stoppage of the production. It is calculated that the strikes each year are now costing the employees almost \$1,000,000,000 and the industries over \$1,000,000,000. It must not be forgotten that industry is a social institution, and that all the cost of its maladjustments and wastes must be paid for by the consuming public. The production machinery often fails to work at the very time when there is crying need for products. In an industrial society such as ours, with its division of labor, every section of our population depends upon the efficient and continuous operation of each division of production. The community is a party in every industry just as every industry is a part of every community.

A great many, if not all, of the difficulties involved in the operation of our industries are due to the fact that the whole industrial system of production and distribution of economic goods is new. We have thus far failed to weave our industrial life into the general democratic life of our society. Laboring

men are bound to attempt to gain the individual independence and security of life and income which prevailed in the days before the industrial revolution. The employer, on the other hand, attempts to keep the same mastery over his economic enterprise and its financial returns that he had in the handicraft and domestic eras. Neither of these is possible in a system of production where thousands of laborers are employed in a single factory and in a community where interdependence, based upon division of labor, is the rule. The old master and slave, or master and apprentice attitude cannot prevail between an employer and an employee in an industry where the workman is not serving a short period of apprenticeship with the surety that he will some day be master, or where the owner may never be seen, much less personally known, by the thousands of workmen. It is difficult to develop a system of democratic relationships in an organization where all the contacts are as impersonal as they are in a great industrial establishment.

Capital and labor both gain when the joint product is increased and both lose when the joint product is reduced. The public also participates in these losses and gains. The practice of cut-throat competition has been eliminated between industries in the interest of the public good. The conflict between capital and labor must be resolved in the same interest. The persons involved are so many and the capital at stake is so great that the task is not easy. Neither is the task of governing 110,000,000 people by means of a democratic form of government easy, but the fact does not make us lose faith in our capacity as citizens of a democracy or cause us to adopt other than democratic methods in solving our problems. These things constitute the elements and problems of citizenship in a government of the people.

The presence of great masses of men attempting to work in behalf of a common end and in coordination with one another was never known in the experience of the world prior to the industrial revolution, except in armies. It was natural, therefore, that the army system should be adopted in order to handle the personnel problems in industry. Bosses, foremen,

superintendents and work managers took the positions of line officers. Financial, technical, and sales experts took the place of the staff officers. This organization systematized the functioning of men and machines at high capacity, but it failed to take cognizance of the fact that men function in the army on the basis of a different set of motives from what they do in industry. In the army all discipline is for the sake of an end that is common to the private and to the general. Loyalty is loyalty to the country and its tasks in a crisis, and not to an immediate superior or indeed for the gain of any individual. A man will work and suffer, and die if need be, for his country, but he will refuse to do any of these things in industry unless he sees the possibility of gain for himself and those who depend upon him. The workman in industry, therefore, raises the question of working hours, wages, and work conditions. It is upon these issues that practically all strikes hinge, and strikes are but indices to our general industrial unrest.

There is a great need for industrial statesmanship if we are to make industry an integral part of our democratic society. An intelligent citizenship does not shirk the task of solving the problems of industry. The attitude that these are problems to be settled between employers and employees alone can lead to nothing but eternal conflict. The public will suffer from sabotage or stoppage of production by both workmen and industrial owners, the risks of labor will be increased by insecurity of life and income, and the risks of capital will be increased by the instability of industrial enterprise, so long as industrial warfare is practiced. Engineering technique will not solve the personnel problems of industry. These are social and civic problems and must be solved by the public at large. The methods of solution must be fair to all and must conserve the fine production machinery which has been developed in industry, without destroying the standard of living of any portion of the population or destroying the harmony of our common welfare.

We have in the United States the best combination of natural resources and man power that the world has ever known. To develop these resources and use the man power in the build-

ing of the best civilization the world has yet known is the task of democratic statesmanship. We are in a position to reap the benefit of an industrial system which was largely evolved in Europe. Our task is to put the system to work in keeping with our idea of what a democratic society should be. A failure to do this has led to revolution, socialism, and bolshevism in other countries. The only way to escape such results in this country is to make the problems which are incident to it a task of our common citizenship.

The following is a quotation from the enunciation of the British Labor party during the war, which party later came partly into power for a short time in England:

The individualistic system of capital production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital with its reckless profiteering and wage slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for means of life and its hypocritical practices of the "survival of the fittest"; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom—may, we hope, indeed have received a death blow. With it must go the political system and ideas with which it nationally found expression. We of the Labor party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an administration, will certainly lend no hand to its survival. On the contrary, we shall do our utmost to see that it is buried with the millions that it has done to death.

If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself, which the Japanese statesman foresees, we must insure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not upon fighting, but on fraternity; not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned cooperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain; not on the utmost possible riches, but on a systematic approach toward a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world; not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or subject sects, but, in industry as well as in government, on equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that wisest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy.

If the things which the British Labor party calls upon its nation as a whole to do are ignored by it, or any other industrial society, the laborers are sure to attempt to accomplish those things themselves. They must accomplish them by political methods or by group force. If they do them by group force it will mean more strikes and a greater industrial unrest. If they do them single handed by gaining control of the government, it will mean an ever-widening cleavage between themselves and others, and such a tendency would threaten our government with the consequences which follow wherever such cleavages have been allowed to develop.

Through the equalization of educational opportunities, and through an equalization of the social conditions of life, there tends to be an equalization of control over all the forces which condition life. This is what a democracy desires. Just as universal public enlightenment has led, the world over, to political democracy, so it must lead to industrial democracy. The industrial revolution wrought greater changes in social life than all other revolutions in history. We would be foolish indeed to assume that we have solved the problems incident to these changes. But it would be the height of folly to assume that the problems of industry, which is now an integral, and even the dominant factor, in our day-to-day civic life, will be solved without the participation of all citizens in their solution. The solution must be on the basis of an appreciation of the vital functions which industry performs as a social institution and the issues which it raises in the every-day life of men.

Summary and Conclusions. Industry, in all of its ramifications, includes one of the most comprehensive sets of human relations in society. Mr. Mackenzie King, former Minister of Labor of Canada, likens it to Mrs. Shelley's "demon" in "Frankenstein," built by the hands of man, but now become a monster so depraved that it threatens to devour its creator. Our industrial system is one of the great creations of modern times, but it has become so complex and powerful that it threatens to destroy the contents and values of all other human relations. The mobilization of materials, money, and

machines has swept millions of human beings into its concentration and reduced these human beings to automatons.

The values that exist in industrial organization are quantitative, mechanical, and visual. They are, therefore, easily comprehended. Because of this fact industrial values and machine standards tend to obscure or even kill a sense of many other worth-while standards of value.

The tasks before a civilization that is dominantly industrial are, the task of conserving the great gains made by the inventions and the task of development of mechanical production without destroying the values of those human relations which should exist in homes, churches, schools, neighborhoods, and communities.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

BEARD and BEARD, *American Citizenship*, Chap. II.

BURCH and PATTERSON, *Problems of American Democracy*, Chaps. XIX and XX.

COMMONS, J. R., *Industrial Good Will*.

DOLE, C. F., *The New American Citizen*, Part III.

HAMMON and JENKS, *Great American Issues*, Part II.

KING, G., *Human Engineering*.

Questions for Discussion:

1. What are the differences between industry to-day and two hundred years ago?
2. What is meant by industrial unrest?
3. How is industry an institution?
4. What is meant when it is said that industry is a social service?
5. What is industrial democracy?
6. Why does the government pay so much attention to industrial issues?

CHAPTER V

HUMAN RELATIONS IN TRADE, COMMERCE, AND BUSINESS

The function of trade and commerce is to exchange and distribute economic goods, and by so doing to give them their maximum capacity to satisfy human wants. Trade always yields an advantage to both parties if fairly conducted. That is its function and justification. No person would trade one article for another if he did not think the second article had the capacity to yield him more satisfaction than the first; nor would he be able to get the other person to trade with him if the other person did not expect to reap some gain. There is no more fallacious notion on earth than that some one always "gets beat" in a trade. Trade grew up largely between the surpluses of products which tribes had on hand after satisfying their own normal needs. One tribe found that it had an advantage in its capacity to catch fish because of being in control of good fishing grounds. Another tribe had the advantage in gathering salt because of its control over salt-producing areas. Both tribes gained by an exchange of these commodities.

There is throughout the world a natural geographic division of labor. It is impossible for the people of the United States, for instance, to economically grow coffee, spices, silk, or rubber. There are, however, areas of the earth which produce these goods much easier than they can produce corn, swine, wheat, or cotton. Trade and commerce make it possible for the people in one area of the world to utilize the products of all the earth by producing those things in which they have a natural advantage and trading them for the goods which other areas produce to greatest advantage.

Trade between primitive peoples is very slight. The result

is, their standards of living cannot include anything which they cannot themselves produce. This slavery to an isolated geographic area was the cause of the early migration of whole tribes. When the earth became so densely populated that practically all the productive areas were occupied by population and migration was no longer easy, two outstanding tragedies of the world resulted, until people learned the art and science of commerce. One was wars fought over the control of territories, and the other was famines. Famines have occurred in recent times in India and China where commerce is not widely established, and very recently in Russia and the Near East because of the breakdown of commerce due to the World War.

Trade was restricted among primitive peoples because tribes that lived in adjacent areas produced very much the same things and thus had no need to trade. They knew practically nothing of peoples who lived at a distance. They had no means of communication and no means for transporting goods even if they had known of other producing areas. At first their only means of transporting goods were to carry them on their own backs or to use cattle, camels, dogs, or horses, to carry or drag them. The camel in Arabia, the pack mule in our own country, and the dog in Alaska are still slightly in use. The only goods that could be transported by such means of conveyance were those of high value and small volume. The invention of wheel vehicles and boats greatly facilitated and increased trade. The invention of steam-propelled carriers ushered in the era of modern commerce with its railroads and steamships. To-day we transport everything from commodities of great volume like coal, corn, cotton, and iron to such perishable products, as fruits, vegetables, eggs, and milk. Trade and commerce now include every product known to man and the values arising from trade and commerce are denied only to those people who have not developed modern means of transportation and communication.

The growth of trade and commerce has created many civic problems which did not exist before their coming. Channels of transportation now include steam and electric railroads,

water routes, roads, street railways, electric interurban lines, and air routes, together with all the vehicles which travel in them. Means of communication include telephones, telegraphs, radios, the postal service, newspapers, and all kinds of special market and trade reports and services. The social, economic, and political effects of this tying together of the people of the nation and of the world are almost incalculable. The activities and practices of every section of the world's population are now of concern to every other section. Without these facilities of transportation and communication it would be impossible for our nation to be the fine union it now is. The lack of transportation and communication would restrict the standards of living of each section of our population to the products which each could produce in its own territory.

Previous to the Articles of Confederation in 1777 and the Constitutional Convention in 1787 each Colony or state had tried to be a self-sufficient economic unit. They quarreled among themselves over all matters of trade and commerce, set up tariffs against each other, and spent considerable sums of money trying to encourage industrial development within their own borders. Each was placing itself at a disadvantage by not utilizing its own natural productive capacity to the maximum and trading its surplus for the products of other states.

The federal government since its establishment has done somewhat the same thing as the Colonies did, by setting up and maintaining restrictions to international trade and thus robbing its people of the full benefit of the earth's capacity to furnish them the maximum of economic goods at the lowest cost.

The United States produces 64 per cent of the world's phosphates, 62 per cent of its cotton, 42 per cent of its sulphur, 38 per cent of its coal, 37 per cent of its zinc, 35 per cent of its iron, 34 per cent of its lead, 30 per cent of its silver, 20 per cent of its salt, and 19 per cent of its gold. In these fields of production we have a comparative advantage over almost all other nations. On the other hand we produce no coffee, tea, silk, flax, fiber, tin, or rubber, and only a comparatively small amount of furs, platinum, and wool. One or more other na-

tions can produce each of these products to better advantage than the United States can. The value of our exports was \$3,831,777,469 in 1922 and the value of our imports was \$3,112,746,833. These facts prove to us the extreme value of trade and commerce in supplying the needs and satisfying the wants of people.

The function of business is to assist trade and commerce and facilitate industry. Business accompanies both industry and commerce. It is the monetary or financial aspect of both. Money makes possible trade between widely separated peoples. It serves as a medium of exchange and as a standard for measuring values. Weights and measures, by which goods can be graded and standardized, are necessary in exchanges that are not carried on face to face. Wholesale, jobbing, and retail establishments are necessary to the distribution of goods. Transportation and communication lines are necessary for carrying on trade. Banks are necessary for handling money and credit, merchants essential to the mobilizing and distributing of goods. Business tools, business organizations, business men, and business knowledge are all necessary parts of the world's trade and commerce. The total number of human relations that are due to business relations, probably exceed those of any other set of contacts.

Before money was invented trade was restricted to barter between persons within comparatively restricted areas. Before standard weights and measures were invented, all buying had to be done face to face in order that personal inspection of goods could take place. When money was invented trade between people over widely separated areas became possible. The moneys were made of precious metal which varied little in value, were easily transported, and could have their standard value stamped upon them. To-day it is possible for a producer of wheat or cotton in the United States to trade his surplus products for silk in China or coffee in Brazil upon the basis of reducing each to its monetary value and thus knowing just how much of one product it takes to buy a given amount of another.

Standard weights and measures reduce the products of each

producer to known quantities, and standard grades reduce them to known qualities. The world's trade is now so thoroughly organized on the basis of market prices that a person can fairly well predict the standard of living for himself and family by knowing what his income is to be. It is because of this fact that the amount of wages or profits that each person receives is so vitally important to him.

The volume of goods which passes through the channels of commerce is so great and the practice of trading is so universal that it is necessary to have definite business organizations to handle the business processes essential to the world's economic life. The chief forms of business organizations are four in number: individual firms, partnerships, corporations and co-operative associations. In the early stages of trade and commerce the almost universal form of business organization was the individual firm for which a single individual furnished his own capital, did his own work, and reaped his own profits. This form of business enterprise is yet quite prevalent in primitive countries and is by no means extinct in our nation. Retail stores of all kinds, farms almost universally, and a large number of businesses in our small towns are organized on the basis of the individual firm.

A partnership is a form of business organization in which two or more persons join in the management and conduct of a business enterprise. This form of organization makes it possible to mobilize larger capital, unnecessary to hire so many helpers, and possible to utilize the capabilities of each of the partners for the things he can do best. Many stores, small mills, and some factories are operated by means of this form of business enterprise.

The corporation is made up of a number of persons. It mobilizes capital by the sale of stocks or shares to the general public, elects a board of directors from among its shareholders, and generally hires experts to manage and conduct its business. In the United States a corporation cannot be formed without a charter granted by some state. Unlike an individual firm or a partnership, it does not go out of existence with the death of the proprietor or require readjustment at the death of one of

the partners. It remains in existence until the state annuls its charter. The individuals who at first held its stock may die or transfer their shares to others, but the corporation generally continues through many generations. Banks and practically all large merchandising establishments and factories are corporations.

Trusts are corporations in which the responsibilities and liabilities have been transferred to a set of trustees rather than remaining in the shareholders.

Holding companies are corporations which buy and hold the stocks of other corporations. Both trusts and holding companies are but special kinds of corporations.

Co-operative associations are firms which either the producers or consumers of goods own and which are usually conducted by paid experts. The general rule in a co-operative association is one man one vote instead of one share one vote, as in the case of corporations. A co-operative association is practically always incorporated and is thus legally a corporation.

Commerce always concerns the general public, and government must therefore encourage and regulate it. The development of giant business concerns has not only been desirable, but inevitable in society. To build a railroad across the continent costs hundreds of millions of dollars and it is desirable to have transcontinental railways. The United States Steel Corporation is capitalized at over two billion dollars. Great corporations have been built up in order to handle the large volume of business which a world commerce demands, and by the natural elimination of smaller firms which could not so easily finance themselves, hire the best experts, and develop the economies necessary to compete successfully with the larger firms. But there is a limit to which such consolidation of business interests can be allowed to go. They tend to grow so strong that they eliminate competition altogether and then find themselves in the position of monopolies with power to fix prices and impede the operation of so-called natural economic laws.

America from the beginning of its settlement and the origin

of its government has been looked upon as a land of opportunity not only because of its natural resources, but because the American attitude has always been not to interfere with the individual's rights and practices so long as the individual did not interfere with the rights of others. The increase in population and the interdependence of people, due to the growth of trade and commerce, has made it necessary for the government to regulate many practices of business.

Trade and commerce, unlike farming, which is conducted as an isolated and more or less self-sufficient enterprise, are always public services, involving hundreds and even millions of people. The constitution lays down special guarantees of property rights and few restrictions upon individual initiative and enterprise. It does, however, give the federal government power to regulate matters in which co-operation among the states is necessary and gives it specific jurisdiction over commerce between the states and Indian territories. In practically all other matters it was contemplated by the framers of the Constitution that the state governments should control.

It is surprising, however, how many issues of life and government involve trade relations or are involved in trade relations between states. A very large per cent of both civil and criminal cases that come before state and federal courts are trade, commerce, or business cases. We have over twice as many court cases dealing with property relations as we have dealing with personal relations.

A large part of the administrative machinery of our state governments is employed with business and industrial matters. The state grants charters to corporations, has insurance commissions, bank commissions, railroad commissions, labor commissions, departments of agriculture and commerce. These agencies are no more for the purpose of restricting business and industrial enterprises than they are for encouraging and assisting them. They are necessary agencies of a government that attempts to serve its people, whose lives are interdependent through business relations.

Since the regulation of interstate and international commerce is reserved by the constitution to the federal govern-

ment, and since so large a proportion of our commercial practices involves persons in more than one state, the federal government has found it necessary to set up agencies and rules which regulate a great many commercial relationships. Our attitude was at first that of *laissez-faire*, or let it alone. This attitude has been found impossible in the face of the growing dominance of commerce. There have been periods in our history, notably in the 'eighties and 'nineties, when the so-called "trust-busting" attitude became prevalent. It was thought that the only way great monopolistic corporations could be coped with was to dissolve them. The Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company were accordingly dissolved under the provision of the Sherman anti-trust law. The dissolution of these holding companies took place upon the basis of evidence that they were price-fixing monopolies and thus were operating in restraint of interstate trade. Any corporation found guilty of similar practices is to-day liable to dissolution by the federal court at any time.

An alternative to that of *laissez-faire* and the demand for dissolution, which is constantly advocated by many people, is government ownership and operation of those industries which violate the welfare of all the people. Our government has not seen fit to embark upon such enterprises except in the case of the postal service. During the World War the federal government operated the railroads. There is always current, however, considerable agitation for government ownership and operation of such means of communication as the telegraph and telephone lines and such common carriers as the railroads and express services.

It can be fairly definitely stated that the federal government is in favor of government regulation in preference to other methods of handling its business and industrial problems. The Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887 to regulate the whole problem of interstate transportation. The law establishing this commission provides for the elimination of unreasonable and extortionate rates and discrimination between persons, places, and commodities; requires that fares

and rates be made public; sets up machinery to adjust rates between long and short hauls; and forbids railroad pools.

The Sherman anti-trust law was passed in 1890 for the purpose of dealing with the problems of centralizing financial and industrial enterprise. The Federal Trade Commission was established in 1914 to investigate the practices of corporations that are thought to be violating any of the provisions of the anti-trust law and report its findings to the Attorney-General of the United States.

The Tariff Commission was established in 1916 for the purpose of taking tariff-making out of politics and placing it upon a bipartisan basis.

In addition to these regulations, laws and agencies we have a United States Department of Agriculture with twenty-one bureaus dealing with all phases of agriculture, a United States Department of Labor, and a United States Department of Commerce. It is thus readily seen that the federal government, which assumed at first that it would leave practically all these matters to the state governments, has found it necessary to regulate and assist these enterprises because they have become national in scope and significance.

To-day, the issues of practically all national, state, and municipal political campaigns revolve about business and industrial issues. A citizen cannot even vote intelligently unless he is cognizant of these business civic issues and able to form intelligent judgments about them.

Some of the practices, which are most inimical to the public good in business and industry and which make it imperative that some form of national regulation guard the public against them are, the concentration of power which makes it possible to exploit both the producer and consumer through the control of prices; unfair methods of selling goods by trade agreements between competitors; over-capitalization and squeezing out of minority stockholders; exploitation of investors by manipulation of stock securities; and the checking of improvements in methods of production.

The findings of the Federal Trade Commission in 1920 reported sixty-one condemned practices. Twenty-eight of them

were direct interferences with competition. Others were misrepresentations, such as false advertising, false use of trade names, and concealing of financial holdings. Others were monopolizing and agreements between competitors. These are all practices which concern the general public, due to the fact that practically everything that people eat or wear or use in any other way is intrusted to these firms on its way from the producer to them.

The government should see that its natural resources are conserved and developed for the welfare of its people. The natural resources of the United States, according to its population, exceed those of any other civilized nation. These resources have been one of the chief causes of our individual and national prosperity. The government should see that they are not so exploited by the present generation as to handicap all future generations, and not developed and exploited by the few to the detriment of the many. Our greatest natural resource is our soil. Upon its fertility more than any other thing depends the amount of population that can be supported. It furnishes the indispensable basis of agriculture, in which almost one-third of our people are gainfully employed and upon which our whole population depends. The lands of the United States are almost all privately owned, whereas at one time the federal government owned almost two-thirds of the lands within the boundaries of the nation. So long as land was plentiful very little thought was given to its use, ownership, or exploitation. Now that our public domain is exhausted and our population has enormously increased, we have come to that stage of national development, to which all nations of the past have come, where the conservation, utilization, and ownership of lands are of national concern. It is not possible that the ownership of lands which have passed out of the hands of the government, except in special cases, shall be reclaimed by it, but it is exceedingly important that much of the lands yet in the government's hands should be reclaimed, that much that is in the hands of individuals and corporations shall be regulated, and that the fertility of all of them be conserved or replaced.

Even our coal, iron, oil, and practically all other minerals have passed into the hands of individuals or corporations. Many of these resources, once exhausted, can never be replaced. It is estimated that our anthracite coal will be exhausted within one hundred years, our bituminous coal in one hundred and twenty-five years, and our petroleum in less than fifty years. Our timber supply has been rapidly depleted by ruthless cutting and forest fires. Our lands have been robbed of their fertility by skinning of the soil and too great use of exhaustive crops. The government must, therefore, see that all possible information is disseminated concerning soil conservation, that mineral and petroleum resources be no further exploited for purely private gain, that large areas be replanted to forests, and that in every way possible the natural resources of the nation be conserved for the future development of the national welfare.

In addition to these natural resources which are threatened by exhaustion we have many natural resources which await development. It is calculated that if all the available water power of the United States were developed and put to work it would furnish all the power that is now made available by the use of coal. We have two or three hundred million acres of land that could be reclaimed by drainage. We have rivers, lakes, and harbors which are but partially developed. The proper development of these depends upon national statesmanship and national statesmen ever await the dictates of the citizenry of the country.

A definite movement for the conservation of our national resources was begun in about 1900. Since that time a number of laws have been passed and the public has been steadily educated to the need and in the methods of conservation. The national government now reserves for itself all coal and minerals which may be discovered in lands given to settlers. This step was not taken, however, until 1910, after nearly all of the coal and mineral bearing lands had been given away and does not apply to lands previously allotted by the federal government or to lands never owned by it. As early as 1878 an Act was passed limiting the amount of timber lands that

the government could sell to any one person, and in 1891 provision was made for withdrawing large areas of forest land from the market altogether. The federal government is regularly propagating the reforestation of cut-over lands and has a national policy of forest-fire prevention. It has spent millions of dollars in irrigation and drainage. It is continually furnishing farmers and agricultural experts information on how to conserve soil fertility. It is regularly making appropriations for the development of rivers and harbors. It has done nothing to safeguard its petroleum supply except to reserve certain oil-bearing lands for future use of the navy.

The standards of living of people are largely dictated by their capacity to purchase goods in the markets of the world. It is because practically every one produces for the market and practically every person purchases a large proportion of his standard of living in the market that the problems of business constitute such vital issues. The farmer who lives to a considerable extent on the products of his own herds, fields, and flocks is the only even partial exception to this rule. Even the laboring-man who works in the factory for wages measures a fair wage in terms of what his wage will buy. It is in the markets of the world that all dividends on production are declared and in the markets that one calculates his earning power. It is the standard of living of a total population that constitutes a civilization and it is the supreme task of every government to assist in developing the highest civilization possible in and through its people.

Many of the issues of justice, fairness, and prosperity which evolve out of organization, operation, and conduct of business are matters for regulation by the government. Many of them, however, lie beyond the possible scope of a democratic form of government and must therefore depend upon the enlightened, just, and moral practices of men in the every-day affairs of individual and social life. The important thing to keep in mind is that all business depends upon the participation of the public and that good business conduct is, therefore, always a matter of good citizenship.

Summary and Conclusions. Trade, commerce, and busi-

ness have organized the world into one economic community. By means of them a division of labor between the geographic areas of the others is made possible. Naturally, therefore, more human relations are involved in commercial and business affairs than in any other phase of modern life.

Trade relations are necessarily impersonal, to a great extent, because they are relations between persons who do not see each other face to face. This fact makes necessary a system of standards and measures by means of which such relations can be carried on. These standards and measures become the tests of business efficiency. Through them a large body of human relations become just or unjust to the persons involved in the relations of which they are a part.

In as far as possible it is a function of government to regulate trade, commercial, and business relations in the interest of all the people. Since, however, many such relations traverse the boundaries of all governments, enlightened moral standards of conduct must prevail or grave injustices will develop.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

- HAMMOND and JENKS, *Great American Issues*, Part III.
HILL, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chap. XIV.
HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of Democracy*, Chap. X.
MUNRO and OZANNE, *Social Civics*, Chap. XVII.
TAUSSIG, F., *Inventors and Money Makers*.
VERLEN, T., *The Theory of Business Enterprise*.

Questions for Discussion:

1. What is property?
2. Has a person a right to do as he pleases with his own property?
3. What do we mean by individual exploitation?
4. Why does the government have so many agencies, commissions, etc., dealing with business?
5. Why do people trade?
6. What is meant by "business for business sake"? What do you think of the idea?
7. What is the relation of business, industry, and commerce?
8. What is a standard of living? How does a person improve it?

CHAPTER VI

HUMAN RELATIONS, THE CHURCH, AND RELIGION

Religion has two very definite social or civic functions in the lives of people. One is the function of conserving those ideas and practices which the race, through its countless generations of experience, has found to be good. The other function is to set standards or goals for individual and social action. It performs the function of conserving good social practices and ideals through a set of moral sanctions and the function of establishing goals for individual and social conduct through the teachings of great religious leaders.

Any adjustment of life that has been made by all the members of a group for generations becomes so much a part of the customs and traditions of the group that it is thought to be the only right mode of conduct. It is when practices have reached this stage of permanence that they are given a definite place in the moral, ethical, and religious codes of the whole people. They are sanctioned, sanctified, and made sacred. Any violation of them is considered a sin.

The method of getting sanctions for a mode of conduct is not the issue at this point. Primitive peoples did get them and modern peoples do get them out of their common experience of life. By means of such sanctions or traditions each new generation is saved the necessity of stumbling through life's experience for itself in order to know what is good. The good, the apt, and successful ways of life are preserved in the religious code of the group and are inculcated into the lives and ideals of each generation from its earliest youth.

The process of preservation and conservation is sometimes inimical to new ways of doing things. The old ways are thought to have been initiated and sanctioned by revelation, and therefore any deviation from them is thought to be sacri-

legious. It is because of this belief that primitive and ignorant people continue to practice superstitions, signs, and charms. It was this sort of thing to which Jesus referred when he cited the futility of trying to preserve new wine in old bottles.

The social function performed by great religious teachers is that of setting ideals for individual and social conduct. A great and wise religious teacher performs the same function in civic life that a great scientist does in the field of material things. The scientist by laboratory experiments and tests discovers better combinations of materials and processes. These new combinations become the standards and processes by which industrial accomplishment, health, sanitation, and physical construction are improved. The great religious teacher imagines or foresees the better way of life or observes here and there the evil results of wrong human relationships and the good results of right human relationships. He formulates these observations into a body of religious principles and teachings and seeks to promote a better individual and group life through their use and practice. This was the rôle and task of the great prophets of Israel. It was Jesus's task. It was the task of the great preachers of our early American history. It is the task of missionaries and religious teachers and leaders all over the world.

Religion of some sort seems to have been a part of all peoples' lives from the earliest known societies. Religious ceremonials and houses, or other facilities for worship, are as old as any other institution unless it be the family. Most primitive religions were bodies of superstition and magic. Men in those days were trying to understand life and the world in which life was cast. They had no elaborate body of science by means of which to explain the detailed phenomena of nature and their own lives by natural cause-and-effect relationships. They therefore attributed supernatural powers to everything they did not understand—the overawing elements of the universe, the sun, moon, and stars, hills, rivers, and seas. Strong and fleet beasts, agile birds and animals, even crooked sticks, peculiar stones, and the like were matters of

wonderment and became objects to be feared, propitiated, and worshiped. The vestiges of such beliefs exist to-day among peoples who fish and plant crops by the signs of the moon, discover the source of water with a forked stick, or carry rabbits' feet, horseshoes, and other things as charms.

Early peoples knew few specific forces except those which were initiated by human beings, and so they constructed, in their imaginations, personal gods who willed the forces of nature. These gods were feared, propitiated, and worshiped. Often human beings were sacrificed to them. These were thought to be angry, selfish, or jealous gods, service to whom had no other function than to appease their wrath or satisfy their jealous spirits. Such a body of religious belief could have no positive and good social results. It did not serve the people, offer them any aspirations or tie them together in constructive social activity. The sources of all religious influence lay without themselves, and the rewards could be nothing beyond a temporary escape from harm.

Through the growth of general enlightenment and the development of the specific knowledge of science, men have come to understand themselves and nature better. The result has been a development of religious ideas which are positive and constructive in the lives of people. Religion to-day still contains a large body of other-worldly doctrines, but together with them it has a definite philosophy of life and definite social goals.

The church as a physical community institution was not known to primitive peoples. They erected altars as places of sacrifice, shrines to their gods and ancestors, and conducted religious or magical ceremonies, usually under the direction and control of medicine-men. Religion was a part of the family or tribal life. A member of the tribe was one who could "uncover the hearth" or had the right to participate in the worship of the household gods. A citizen of Rome was one who accepted the religion of the city. The early Christians were not church members, but merely believers in Jesus's teachings and followers of Him. They were driven together into common meeting-places because of persecution and fellow

feeling. From them sprang the beginnings of our present church organizations, and from these organizations have evolved the churches we now have in every community. All churches are thus man-made. They are social institutions for propagating ideas and carrying on activities which are adjudged by them to be religious in nature.

The church is like the family and school in that it is always represented by a definite building and meeting-place in each locality. It is unlike them in that membership in the church is voluntary, while membership in the home and government is compulsory. It is like industry and government in that it is an organization which includes many local divisions or branches. The reason for a social activity becoming institutionalized is that the activities which it carries on or promotes are vital in the life of people over long periods of time. It must be that people all over the world think that organized religious activity has some worth-while contribution to make to life, else they would not support the church or so large a proportion of them ally themselves with it. The religious census of 1917 ascertained that 42,044,370 persons in the United States were members of churches. We shall see in the next section what functions religion performs that cause us to construct church buildings and support religious activities in every community of the nation.

The social function of religion is to teach persons how to live their lives in keeping with the ultimate standards and values of all life. Religious motives or impulses are generally of three kinds—superstitious, fearsome, or aspirational. People construct their philosophies of life and conduct their religious activities in a given fashion because they believe in the supernatural power of things they do not understand, because they fear the results in another world of their activities on earth, or because they are inspired by goals which they wish to reach by means of life's activities. A religion of superstition leads to all kinds of foolish and futile acts which ignorant, primitive peoples practice. A religion of fear leads to a cringing, cowardly, and negative outlook on life. It generally restricts human relationships and activities and thus often

acts as a check on dynamic activities. A religion of aspiration not only lends zest to individual life, but causes life to be lived as abundantly as possible every day, in order that the individual and social goals of life may be the nearer approached.

It is only when the transfer is made from a religion of superstition and fear to one of aspiration and purpose that it can embody such concepts as "man in the image of God" and "the kingdom of heaven on earth." It then becomes a dynamic civic force in the life of society.

It is entirely possible for religion to work with the known factors of life, study them, understand them, appraise them, and set up standards of action for them. In fact, it is only through or by means of such appraisal of all things in terms of ultimate goals and values that any act of life can have definite value attached to it. It is the function of religion to take life and life's conditions as they have evolved, so to understand them as to use them wisely and constructively, and to magnify those practices which are valuable and minimize those which are detrimental. Psychologically, a person is religious when he knows the goals of his life and is enthusiastically loyal to them. Sociologically, he is religious when the results of his loyalty and enthusiasm can be seen by the fruits they bear in his own life and the lives of the people with whom he associates. Recently there has grown up in America a movement known as "The Christian Way of Life," which hopes to make the goal of all life's activities, whether in the home, the church, the school, the state, or in industry, the goal set by the practices and teachings of Jesus. Should the faith of this movement be fulfilled, the Christian religion will become a more dynamic force for good human relations than all other forces combined.

The church is an agency of social service. The Christian religion from its very beginning, and Judaism, its chief antecedent, have always emphasized the relation between beliefs and conduct. The prophets of Israel were continuously exhorting their people to a better social and civic life. Jesus in his first recorded public appearance stated that he was

"anointed to preach good tidings to the poor, deliverance to the captives, recovery of sight to the blind, to heal the broken-hearted and give liberty to the bruised." The so-called pagan religions before Him, many religions of primitive people, and even some existing religions have no doctrine or practice of social service. The various churches of Western civilization are continuously not only preaching a religion of better and more wholesome relationships, but are setting up and supporting educational, charitable, and other social institutions and agencies which further the efficiency of community life.

Our modern educational institutions originated with the church. The priests and monks conducted the first elementary schools. Great religious denominations established our earliest and some of our greatest colleges and universities. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and Chicago universities were established by churches. We have in the United States to-day more than three hundred institutions classified as denominational or church colleges. Many other colleges and universities were established by churches and have since come to receive their chief support from other sources. The Sunday school is often the earliest educational agency outside the home with which a child comes in contact. It furnishes religious and moral instruction to many children who never receive such instruction in their homes or from any other sources.

The church initiated practically all types of charitable institutions and still maintains and supports many orphanages, old people's homes, hospitals, and rescue homes for wayward youths. Churches conduct boys' and girls' clubs, gymnasiums and recreation grounds, vacation schools, dispensaries, kindergartens, employment bureaus, lodging houses, libraries, day nurseries, and clinics. They almost universally carry on community charity work. Many of them support community social workers. Some of them conduct wholesome picture shows and other community entertainments.

Through their foreign missionary societies churches attempt to carry the benefits of an enlightened and advanced civilization to backward people. Through their home missionary societies they attempt to reach the backward and unfortunate

people of our own population. Through their social-service commissions they attempt to inculcate religious and ethical ideals and practices into the industrial, business, and civic conduct of all walks of life. Ninety-two per cent of all social workers are church members. The Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and the Salvation Army are always conducted by religious persons.

The churches furnish common meeting-places for the people of our thousands of communities. Their teachings are continuously for a better social life. They are not perfect in that they sometimes divide communities on purely non-functional denominational lines. They sometimes preach intolerant fanaticism and they sometimes array themselves against the new and beneficial discoveries of science. But they are agencies of inspiration to better human relationships, promoters of moral and ethical ideals, and places where persons of common ideals can commune together. Churches constitute the only agencies of society which take as their chief task the teaching of morals and ethics and which strive always to measure life's activities and ideals by standards of perfection. One of the nation's most eminent historians, Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, summarizes their influences as follows: "The religious conditions of the land may be summed up in a sentence: doctrine has decayed, but the appeal to character, to the ennoblement of the human soul, still continues and is as active a principle as it has ever been at any time in the history of the nation."

Religion should be our chief motive and stimulus to progress. Religion is always promotional in character. It is idealistic, Utopian, and even revolutionary. It seeks ever to measure what is by what ought to be. It is never satisfied or contented with things as they are, but always strives to make things better. It was mainly the search for religious liberty which led to the establishment of civil liberty in America and in the world. The teachings of the church led in many of our great moral reforms, probably the most notable being the outlawing of intoxicating liquors.

The "Social Creed of the Churches," enunciated by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, includes such ideals as "equal rights and justice for men in all stations of life, the single standard of morality, the fullest development of the child, especially through education and recreation, abolition of child labor, the abatement and prevention of poverty and crime, the conservation of health, the protection of the workers from dangerous machinery and occupational disease and injury to morality, the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes, a living wage in every industry, and a new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property." If the violations of these principles and practices were not menaces to our social life there would be no need for holding them up to the public as standards of conduct. If the church was not a great and strong social agency, sanctioned by society in its work, these standards would have little weight. But both of these things being true, the place of religion and the churches in a progressive society is self-evident. The actual acceptance of the principles enunciated in "the social creed of the churches" would result in a new and better social life.

The separation of the church from the state established the church as an international or universal institution. The Christian religion has from its beginning preached equality, fraternity, the inherent worth of the individual, and the unity of the whole human race. It, therefore, considers all moral, social, and civic questions in the light of and in keeping with the ideals of a universal community. The degree to which it renders service depends largely upon how much it emphasized its ideals in contrast to its formal practices and administrative affairs.

There is no greater fallacy current in the minds of people than to consider religion as separate from life. The question of what religion can do and will do in the lives of individuals and the civic life of society rests upon a knowledge of the fact that religion is but one aspect of all life and churches are nothing but organizations of people for promotion of that aspect of life. In this sense the function of religion is to make

all life religious and the function of the church is to create a Christian society.

That the churches by their denominational separation sometimes put undue emphasis upon formal church ceremonies and by their allegiance to the half truths of the past handicap themselves in their functions of progressive leadership in social and moral reforms is not to be denied. There is essential moral unity among them, however, and a constant insistence in their principles and programs for better civic life. The following are from the churches themselves.¹

"We have neglected to attack forces of wrong; we have been content with the ambulance work when we ought to have been assaulting the strongholds of evil. We have allowed avarice and selfishness and grinding competition to work havoc over the broad spaces of human life. We want a strenuous reaffirmation of the principles of justice, mercy, and brotherhood as sovereign over every department of human life."

"If Christianity is a driving force, making for democracy, we cannot put a limit upon the extension of democracy; we must recognize the inevitability of the application of democracy to industry."

"The ethics of Jesus demand nothing less than the transfer of the whole economic life, from the basis of competition and profit to one of cooperation and service."

"Christianity above all religions has fostered a keen sense of the value of every individual, and Christians cannot acquiesce in the undue subordination of human beings to the exigencies of any mechanical system."

"The pursuit of wealth as an end in itself creates an atmosphere in which right social relations are hardly attainable, and in which it is difficult not only for the rich, but for all classes, to enter the kingdom of heaven."

It will be noted that practically all the constructive adjustments for which these great denominations call are industrial and business adjustments. This is not because the church or

¹ The statements are quoted from Ward, *The New Social Order*, and are assembled from enunciations of churches of all kinds and creeds.

religion is opposed to industry or because there are no reforms needed in other than industrial and business relations. But, as we saw in Chapters IV and V, our society is predominantly an industrial social order and, therefore, a good social life depends largely upon the proper operation of its business and industry and the human relations which are part and parcel of them.

Religious freedom and the integrity of the churches are guaranteed by the government. The first amendment to the federal Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Thus from the beginning of our national life there has been separation of the church from the state. The various state constitutions also guarantee religious liberty and the federal Constitution forbids that any religious requirement be made a test for holding federal office. A large per cent of the early settlers in our Colonies came to America seeking, among other things, religious liberty, and although some of the early colonial communities were exceedingly intolerant of religious ideas which dissented from or disagreed with their own, such intolerance has never been sanctioned by law in this country.

The states recognize the church as a social and legal institution. They grant corporation charters to churches and safeguard them against menace and desecration. In most states it is a crime to disturb a religious meeting. Sunday is a legal holiday and different degrees of "Sabbath observances" are required in the different states. Church properties and educational and charitable institutions maintained and supported by religious bodies are exempt from taxation and in some states large subsidies are given for the support of such institutions.

Although complete religious liberty is guaranteed by the federal and state constitutions, governments cannot overlook the fact that our society is a national community and that church practices and religious ideas cannot be permitted to interfere with the free functioning of other institutions or

with doctrines which are fundamental to the preservation of American ideals. On this basis the Mormon Church was forbidden in 1895 to practice polygamy. This prohibition was based upon the conviction that such a practice was inimical to public morals. During the World War members of some religious sects refused to join the fighting forces of the nation. The government compromised with these people by allowing them to serve in non-combatant pursuits which contributed to the successful prosecution of war.

Notwithstanding the constitutional guaranties of religious liberty, religious tolerance is not universal in our social life. Candidates are undoubtedly sometimes defeated for office because of their membership in some church, and often appeals are made to voters to cast their ballots for men who represent certain religious creeds and doctrines. In local communities, schools and even city governments are sometimes directed almost altogether by persons who are members of one denomination. Teachers, and even persons in other occupations, are sometimes subjected to criticism because of religious convictions or opinions which they hold.

Governments recognize the value of religion as a social control, sometimes of even a higher order than law itself. The impulsion of a moral code is likely to be more imperative than that of a legal code. It would be impossible to govern a nation of a hundred million people were it not for our moral codes. Self-government is based upon the assumption that each person and each community will have a set of moral customs and practices which will insure right relationships between its citizens.

Recently there has been considerable agitation for moral, ethical, and religious instruction in the public schools. Some states require the reading of the Bible at the opening of each day's school exercises. Other states have ruled that the Bible is a secular book and so have forbidden its use in the schools. The denominational division among the churches makes it difficult to maintain complete freedom in religious beliefs and yet teach religion to all our youth. The time will undoubtedly

come when the common fundamental ethics of every similar religious denomination will make available the teaching of morals, ethics, and even religion to young persons in the common schools of the nation. This is desirable, if possible, because of the great service that such teaching could render in setting ideals and standards of conduct for all human relationships.

Summary and Conclusions. Religion has two chief functions: that of conserving those social activities which, in the history of the race, have been found to be good, and that of setting standards or goals for individual and social attainment. Both of these functions are fundamental in social life. The function of conservation makes it unnecessary for each new generation to discover social practices which have already been tested. The function of idealization is the chief method of all social advance. It seeks always to measure what is by the best that can be imagined.

Churches are social institutions, set up by men for the purpose of performing the two great functions of religion. As conditions of life change, churches must change with them. They must go further and always seek to guide such changes in the direction of even more wholesome and helpful human relationships. Only by so doing can they be agencies of ethical leadership in the world.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

- BENNION, M., *Citizenship*, Chap. VII.
 COE, G. A., *A Social Theory of Religious Education*.
 ELLWOOD, C. A., *The Reconstruction of Religion*.
 HILL, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chap. IV.
 HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of American Democracy*, Chap. VI.
 WARD, H. F., *The New Social Order*, Chap. XI.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Where did you get your religion?
2. Do you believe in charms or superstitions?
3. What is the function of religion in society?
4. What is the difference between religion and the church?

5. Do you believe in freedom of religious thought and speech?
6. What is the relation of religion to business? Government?
Education? Home life?
7. Should we teach religion in our public schools?
8. Is religious tolerance desirable? Possible?

CHAPTER VII

THE CITIZEN AND HIS LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Three principal types of rural local government have been developed in the United States. The Colonists came to America in two principal streams—to New England and to Virginia; and while they had the same fundamental notions of government, the differences in character of the settlers, in motives for colonization, and in geographical environment, gave rise to different forms in the beginning and to somewhat different lines of development as time passed. Settlers from these regions, New Englanders toward the West and Southwest, Virginians and North Carolinians toward the West and Northwest, naturally carried with them their accustomed forms, so that besides the town type from New England, and the county type from Virginia and the South, there arose in the Middle West, from a mingling of the two, a third or mixed type, where the functions of local government were divided between counties and townships.

It is not to be supposed that these types are at present clearly demarked from one another. There are, in fact, through the nation to-day in the various states so many forms of local government that any classification is difficult. This classification, however, will serve the primary purposes of showing what the functions of local government are, how they are in general carried out, what the expansion in services and purposes has been and what the tendencies at present are.

The town, as the unit of local self-government, is found in its purest form in the six states of New England. The early settlers of New England had been largely the victims of religious persecution in the mother country. The question of religious liberty was of course closely tied up with other forms of liberty, so that it was they and their kind who had been the backbone of the parliamentary resistance to royal en-

croachment. Even in England a large measure of local government had been carried on at least tacitly through the church organizations. The church congregation was the most pronounced unit of local organization among these people, and it was by congregations, to a large extent, that they came to America. While no doubt they must have felt that they and their children would be better off economically in the New World, it was primarily the desire to escape persecution and to enjoy the right of religious self-government as they conceived it that brought them here. They assumed at once the rights of self-government, and while they were in theory bound by the provisions of the Plymouth Charter as though the powers of government were delegated through that instrument, they nevertheless, in fact, conducted their own local affairs in practical independence.

They came and settled as congregations. The meeting-house thus became the religious community center and they built their homes within easy distance from it. Their farms lay around the town, and they pastured their cattle on the commons as their ancestors had done two thousand years before. This settlement by towns served several purposes besides convenience for religious purposes. It afforded the best possible protection from the Indians and the best opportunities for satisfying their needs through the mutual interdependence which was made necessary by the nature of their climate and soil. The towns, at least at first, were practically self-sufficient, with almost no contacts or trade with one another or the outside world. They produced their own food and provided their own clothing and shelter. Each town had its farmers and the necessary artisans, such as weavers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and carpenters.

Government was carried on through the famous town meeting, and its authority was supreme. This was held at regular intervals and all male citizens were eligible to attend and participate in its deliberations and decisions. It was presided over by a chosen chairman whose function terminated with adjournment of the meeting.

The functions of the town meeting were very numerous. It

levied taxes and passed laws for the control of churches and schools; it made provision for the building of bridges and roads; it admitted new settlers within its jurisdiction; it regulated private property and made provision for the recording of property transfers on the official records of the town; it enacted ordinances controlling the private conduct of individuals to a degree that would not be tolerated in this day; it passed rules governing the use of the common pastures and wood lots; it made provision for the care of the poor; it granted licenses for the conduct of business; it controlled jails and other public buildings; it elected the major public officials to execute the mandates of the meeting and set the time for the next assembly. Later, as colonial government took form, it elected its representatives to the Colonial Legislature. There was no detail of public and even private business that the town meeting did not feel competent to go into in the public interest. Some of its activities seem quaint to us of this day. It banished undesirable citizens as Roger Williams was banished; it established the curfew for adults as well as children; it set the time for "lights out" in all the homes of the town; it regulated personal dress and adornment and passed rules for attendance and conduct at church and school. The most important facts to note are that the town meeting regarded itself as supreme and that it was essentially democratic in function—i.e., legislation was by the direct action of all the citizens in meeting assembled.

The town Meeting elected town officers, usually for the period of one year, for the carrying out of its mandates, and for the administering of its laws. The principal officers were the selectmen, numbering usually from three to twelve and corresponding to the board of trustees of a modern village, the town clerk, the constable, and perhaps a treasurer, a tax collector and a surveyor. There was no office corresponding to mayor or other executive.

The board of selectmen governed the town, subject only to the will of the town meeting. It supervised the public works and enterprises, executed the laws, often passing minor rules of its own, and appointed subordinate officials. As the towns

grew, the town meeting gradually relaxed its control of the details of the public business, partly because it had become unwieldy in size and partly because the public business had become too complicated for this method. It then confined its functions to laying out the public policy, passing the tax budget, major legislation, and general supervision and regulation of the selectmen and other officers. In this way, the power of the board of selectmen grew until to-day it has taken over most of the minor functions of the old town meeting.

The town clerk kept the public records, registered deeds and other property transfers, acted as secretary to the town meeting and the board of selectmen, and was often town treasurer and tax collector. He recorded all births, deaths, and marriages.

The constable was the peace officer of the town, acting also as the official messenger for the board of selectmen on all occasions.

Besides these officers there were many of a minor character, usually appointed by the selectmen, such as the town crier, road supervisor, herdsman, and many others. In the course of time, as new needs arose and old ones disappeared, new offices were created and old ones abandoned, but the essential functions and the officers for administering them have remained essentially the same to the present day. County government has developed, made necessary by the occupation of the territory lying between the towns and outside their jurisdiction, but most of the functions carried on by the counties in other parts of the nation are performed by the towns in New England. The town is there the accepted unit of local government.

County government in America was first developed in the South. The early settlers of Virginia and the Carolinas had very little of the religious motive for coming to the New World. They came as individuals or in heterogeneous groups, sent over by the Virginia Company. They came for the most part to improve their condition in life.

In the mild climate and on the rich soil it was possible for the family to exist as an economic unit, independent of the

rest of the world, except for tools and implements which it obtained in exchange for tobacco shipped to England. Danger from the Indians was not imminent. Settlement, therefore, spread along the navigable streams and from them into the interior. Hamlets and villages grew up only as service stations to the countryside. Under these circumstances, of scattered homesteads and a population lacking a religious or other strong motive of unification, any local government based upon the direct participation of its citizens in its conduct seemed impractical. They utilized, therefore, in their local affairs the method of government by representation, an old development in English government with which they were familiar. It thus came about that there were established in America at practically the same time the two most pronounced forms of self-government, not inharmonious and not incompatible with each other, but each adapted to different circumstances, the democratic form as exemplified in the New England town and the republican form as exemplified in the Southern county.

The county, as the most important unit of rural local government, is found in the twenty-five states of the South and Far West. Inasmuch as county government has changed little in fundamental characteristics since colonial times, it will serve our purpose best to study a typical county, as to what its governmental functions are and how they are carried out. There has been, however, one important development in the relations to the state of local units, towns, townships, villages, cities, and counties which should first be noted. In the beginning, while these local units regarded themselves as free from outside interference and were in practice so, they were, in theory, operating under powers delegated through the colonial charters or granted through the colonial legislatures. With the formation of the state and federal governments following the Revolution this theory became thoroughly established, so that these units in their operations are now limited by their state constitutions or laws as to powers and functions. Since the different states have such widely varying practices in the organizations of their counties and since they have shown an

increasing tendency to take over, on the part of the state, many functions previously performed by the local units of government, it must be borne in mind that this discussion is intended merely to illustrate the fundamental characteristics of county government.

The usual functions assumed by county government are to care for the poor, to maintain a system of public roads and bridges, to maintain the public peace, to keep records of property transfers, to provide for the administration of justice, to maintain educational standards for the schools of the county, to probate wills, to provide and maintain a courthouse, jail, and other public buildings, to administer tax machinery, and to provide for elections.

The governing body of the county in those states which have no township organization is usually called the board of county commissioners, consisting of from three to five members elected at large; while in those states having the mixed county and township system this body is usually called the board of supervisors, its members being elected by the townships, one from each. The county board has small legislative powers; it merely carries out the functions laid down by the state legislature. It administers the expenditure of the public funds for the maintenance of public roads, the poor farm, the county hospital, the jail, and other public property. It also in many states appoints certain minor public officials, such as road commissioners and agricultural demonstration agents. It does not usually have supervision over the principal public officials of the county, and this is considered by careful students of local government as the principal weakness in county government to-day.

The principal reform needed seems to be the creation of small boards with power to appoint all the officials of the county except those who have to do primarily with the administration of state affairs within the county. This would concentrate authority and responsibility at a point where the electorate would always know upon whom to place the blame if the county government should go wrong. As it is, corrupt and incompetent county officials are often able to escape the

consequences of their misdeeds because the general public does not have clear conceptions of the duties of public officials; but a small and active board of supervisors to whom they would be directly responsible would not easily be misled. It may be said, in support of this suggested change, that it is exactly in line with the recent successful reforms in municipal government, where city government by elected boards of aldermen attempting to work in co-operation with other city officials over whom they have no control is being abandoned for small boards directly responsible to the people for the complete management of the city's affairs.

The county clerk is not a member of the county board, but generally acts as its secretary. He keeps the minutes of the board, carries on all correspondence for it, receives and submits to it all claims against the county keeping a detailed record of their disposition, prepares the tax lists and keeps the tax books, prepares official ballots under the direction of the board and distributes them to the proper election officials, makes up election returns, issues marriage and other licenses, and in general serves as the custodian of all official records of the county. The county clerk is usually popularly elected and is thus independent of any supervisory superior. Many clerks are careless, incompetent, and occasionally corrupt. To make them directly amenable to the county board by direct appointment from that body would almost certainly increase the efficiency of this office.

The county recorder, or register of deeds, keeps an official record of land transfers, deeds, mortgages, and liens. This office also might well be filled by appointment from the county board.

The county prosecutor, or state's attorney, serves to a limited extent as the legal adviser of the county board and other county officials, but his principal function is the important one of seeing that the laws are observed within the county and of bringing legal action against all violators. Since his attitude toward law violation may be strict or lax or even corrupt, it is of the greatest importance that the public should exercise great care in the selection of this official. Once selec-

ted, his position during his term of office is nearly independent. He may choose to be vigilant or not in hunting down and prosecuting lawbreakers; he may choose largely what cases to push and what to drop; and after undertaking prosecution he may push cases with vigor or may allow them to languish in such a way as to allow criminals with whom he may be in sympathy to escape justice.

County prosecuting attorneys are chosen by the electorate of the county, and this is perhaps best, since their principal duty is the enforcement of state laws. They are, in effect, state officials operating within the limits of the county; their relations with the county board are not numerous and no good purpose could be served by placing them under the control of the board. Aside from the frequent carelessnesses of the public in making their choice, the office is working with a fair degree of satisfaction. There is a loophole, however, between the county prosecutor and the sheriff which should be stopped up. Both the prosecutor and the sheriff generally consider it among their duties to search out and bring law violators to trial. In this way, if either is lazy, incompetent, or dishonest, he will undertake to lay the blame for maladministration upon the other. Since the detective force is under the sheriff's control, the county attorney usually gets the better of the argument, often when the sheriff's office is blameless. In view of the fact that the prosecutor is, in function, primarily responsible for the enforcement of law within the county, the detective and investigational force should either be transferred from the sheriff's control to the control of the county prosecutor, or else the latter should be provided with a sufficient detective force efficiently to carry out his primary function.

The sheriff's main duties are to preserve the peace; to make arrests personally or through deputies, and to have custody of prisoners; to summon jurors and have charge of juries in criminal trials; to attend court and execute its orders; and to conduct the sale of property sold for taxes. In some states the sheriff collects the taxes, but this would seem to lie outside his natural functions. Like the prosecutor, the sheriff is in effect

a state officer with a local jurisdiction and should therefore continue to be elected by the voters of the county.

Under Norman government in England and later, the sheriff was simply the local representative of the King, the chief executive of the county or district to which he was appointed. During the pioneer period in America, though elected by the people, his function was of much the same character. But under settled conditions where people are more law abiding, and the courts more efficient, the power of the sheriff is not so great. The rapid changes of the last few years, in communication by telegraph and telephone, and in transportation by automobiles over highly improved highways, have greatly increased the troubles of the sheriff. Crime can no longer be localized. Bank robbers, for an example, harboring in the great cities, can perpetrate their crime in some small city or town three hundred miles away and escape to comparative safety in automobiles before the local authorities are hardly aware of the occurrence. This is only one illustration of many of how local interests with the rapid progress of civilization are broadening. The economic and social horizon of the individual is no longer the boundary of his little neighborhood or even of his county. The people of every community in a thousand ways are vitally interested in the conduct of every other community: how the directors in some far-off center regulate the railroad which runs through their town, how distant industries treat their customers and their employees; how the states with an abundance of coal regulate its production with some respect for the rights of those which produce none; whether corporations serving wide areas do so with equal justice, and whether each community protects every other from the depredations of criminals within its borders.

Under changed conditions, it is thought by many that the state must assume a larger burden of the function of keeping peace. Accordingly, state police have been organized in a few of the states—the Texas Rangers in Texas, the State Constabulary in Pennsylvania, and the State Troopers in New York. While it is fairly obvious that the functions of the sheriff as previously outlined do not meet the new situation,

it is doubtful whether a state police can be so organized as not to interfere with the cherished rights of local self-government. Possibly measures for increasing the support of the sheriff's office by the county, and especially for bringing about a better coördination of, and co-operation between the various sheriff's offices of the state under a central administration at the state capital, would be a better solution of the problem than the creation of a new and separate police force, such as a state police is, operating within the counties but independent of them.

The county school superintendent usually has only loose supervisory powers over the schools in the county. He may see to the enforcing of the state's school laws, uphold the standard of scholarship by the examinations of teachers, conduct institutes, and assist districts in securing teachers. He is too frequently a mere politician with no particular qualifications for the position. It would seem to be better, where school matters are controlled by the county, to place this position in some way under the supervision of the county board.

The coroner's office is an ancient one. It is the duty of the coroner to conduct investigations of deaths which occur under unusual or suspicious circumstances. He may decide in any case whether an investigation is necessary, and, if so, he usually conducts it by means of a jury. The verdict of the jury, while useful to sheriffs and prosecutors, is not binding in criminal courts. The service which the coroner renders could as well be performed by sheriff or prosecutor, and the office abolished.

The county judge has for his principal functions the proba-tion of wills and the settlement of estates. He conducts hearings on insanity and judges the cases of paupers and orphans. In some states his court tries the cases in equity, but it generally has no criminal jurisdiction.

The county treasurer has charge of the county funds, paying them out on warrants drawn up and signed by the county clerk and approved by the county board. Being elected by direct vote, he is independent of the county board, often in-

competent and sometimes dishonest. The funds he handles are comparatively large, and he is often under great temptation to show improper favors to banks and political friends. His books not being frequently audited, corruption may become far reaching before it is discovered. Since the office requires special qualifications, it would be well to place it under the county board, to provide a uniform system of accounts for all the counties of a state, for frequent audits and a clear demarcation of functions and duties.

The county assessor is supposed to set the value on personal and real property subject to taxation. He and his deputies in some states go from house to house, accepting the sworn statements from the property owners as to the amount and value of their property. Since the amount of taxes paid bears a close relation to the assessed value of the property, there is great temptation on the part of owners to state their values as low as possible; and the assessor, being dependent for his office on the votes of the citizens, is generally quite willing to wink at tax evasions, especially on the part of men of wealth who may have considerable political influence. This is not the place for an extended discussion of taxation, but suffice it to say that in no other matter are the public morals at a lower ebb. Tax evasion in the matter of personal property is the rule, and the discrepancies between taxes paid on real estate in countless cases are astonishingly great and grossly unjust. For this condition the assessors' offices are only slightly to blame. Some improvements, however, might be made by bringing the functions of this office directly under the control of the county board.

The clerk of court is responsible for all court records. He makes out subpoenas and court orders, takes down the verbatim testimony of witnesses and records the judgments of the court. He is elected by the popular vote of the county.

The surveyor is the official county engineer. He lays out new highways, bridges, and drainage ditches, surveys lands for the purposes of the official records and at the request of private individuals. He is usually elected by popular vote.

Local government has attempted to expand to meet the growing needs of an increasingly complex society. New services have been assumed and new offices created: such as *county health officers*, to enforce the laws on vaccination, to prevent the spread of contagious diseases, to give free clinical service to the poor, and to care for the health of school children by frequent medical inspections and advice; *county welfare officers* to enforce the truant laws, to find homes for foundlings and orphans, to handle cases of delinquency, and to advise and assist partially dependent widowed mothers and other helpless people; and *county farm and home demonstration agents*, to educate farmers in better methods of production, marketing, and management, and farm women in better household economy and in higher standards of living.

Summary and Conclusions. The county is thought by many to be the weakest link in the chain of American government, local, state, and national; while with improved transportation and communication and an enlarged outlook on the part of the people, it is coming to be recognized as the most feasible unit of local rural government, the township steadily giving way before it; and for this same reason the state is assuming certain functions heretofore performed by counties, such as education and the construction and maintenance of highways. The principal problem in county government is to secure efficient service without loss of popular control. The present tendency in solving this problem is the concentration of responsibility and authority into the hands of the county board, with extensive powers of appointment and removal. The county board can watch the county governmental machinery; and the people can watch the county board.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics*, Chap. XXIX.

FORMAN, S. E., *Advanced Civics*, Chap. X.

HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of American Democracy*, Chap. XXII.

PORTER, K. H., *County and Township Government in the United States*.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Why are the areas of local self-government larger than they were twenty-five years ago?
2. Which is better for purposes of local self-government, the democratic or the republican form?
3. Is a man honest who undervalues his property to the assessor?
4. Do you believe in student self-government?
5. How do you think it would work to have a county board elected and then this board appoint all other county officers?
6. Why did not the town type of government spread all over the United States?

CHAPTER VIII

THE CITIZEN AND HIS LOCAL GOVERNMENT (continued)

In the previous chapter, two of the three types of rural local government were discussed, the town and the county. There remain to be discussed the third, or mixed, type in which certain features of both county and town government are combined, and lastly the government of cities.

The mixed type of combined township and county government is found in seventeen states, principally in the Middle West. The township form of local government was carried into that section by settlers from the North Atlantic states and was an attempt to transplant the New England town type. The artificial character of the township is shown by the fact that it was usually laid out as a mere geographical area six miles square, lacking practically all of the unifying qualities of the New England town. Counties existed from the beginning, the townships being subdivisions of them; and they were organized there much as elsewhere, except that certain functions, thought to be strictly local in character, were reserved to the townships. In view of this fact, it will be necessary to study only the township, remembering that the county is always present, performing whatever local functions are unassumed by the townships.

The principal functions of the township are to keep peace; to vote taxes and fix the rate; to build and maintain highways and bridges; to provide public schools; to care for the poor; to provide for all elections; to attend to land drainage; and to elect the township supervisor. It seems to have been the original intention to conduct the public business by means of township meetings, but this method, with few exceptions, has fallen into disuse. The small amount of administration has come to be carried on by the township officers acting as a

board, with the supervisor as chairman. In some states, however, the township meeting still persists, while in a few others there is provision made by state law for regular township boards.

The supervisor is, in some states, the principal administrative official of the township, acting without a board; his principal function, however, is as the representative of the township on the county board of supervisors.

The township clerk serves as the secretary of the township board if there is one, and keeps the official records of the township, such as maps of highways, school districts, drainage areas, official statistics, and other documents.

The township treasurer is custodian of the township funds.

The jurisdiction of the justice of the peace is limited by law to minor criminal offenses and only to those civil cases where the difference at issue does not exceed some specified small amount. A justice of the peace has power to hold preliminary hearings and to bind accused persons for trial to a superior or circuit court. Most cases in a justice court come under the common law.

One or more constables serve as peace officers of the township, making arrests and serving warrants and subpoenas issued by the justice of the peace.

The assessor, through an annual survey and frequently by a house-to-house canvass, determines the values for purposes of taxation of all real and personal property in the township. Inequalities between individuals are supposed to be rectified by the township board acting as a board of equalization, usually upon the appeal of aggrieved persons; inequalities between townships for purposes of county revenue are supposed to be rectified by the county board or a specially appointed or elected board of equalization; and inequalities between counties for purposes of state revenue are supposed to be rectified by a state board of equalization.

The township seems to be disappearing as a unit of local government because the functions it has been performing can be carried on better by larger units of government. Drainage is largely local in character, but the areas are seldom found

entirely within township lines; highways are certainly not local and can be more satisfactorily maintained by the county or even the state; education is of importance to the whole people—backward communities, either from poverty or from ignorance, cannot be allowed indefinitely to stagnate; and the public health and care of the poor and helpless are often of wider concern than the boundaries of an area six miles square. It would seem that all the functions of the township, except possibly those of maintaining the peace and administering local justice, might better be taken over by the county.

From the point of view of its needs and its power to supply them, even the county is not a large enough unit for some purposes, particularly those of public education and transportation. Tax income is often very unequally distributed in relation to the population, some counties being relatively poor, while others have within their borders valuable industries serving and supported by the business of immensely wider areas than the county in which they are located. Such industries are not local in respect to their source of income, and the taxes which they pay should likewise not be locally expended. In fact, the more progressive states are providing for a more equitable distribution of tax incomes. North Carolina is paying for and maintaining an excellent highway system through a consumption tax on gasoline, and a large portion of the tax income raised for educational purposes it is distributing over the state by means of an equalizing fund.

The functions and services of local government are undergoing a redistribution in the direction of assigning them to larger units of government. This seems to many to be a movement in the direction of centralization and is feared as such; while to others the movement is sufficiently explained by the observation that society is becoming more and more interdependent and many matters heretofore regarded as local are in fact not so, and that social progress and public education and enlightenment are so broadening the interests and widening the outlook of individuals and groups that the

number of problems strictly local in character grows smaller every day.

City government is another type of local government. We have thus far in this chapter been studying local government in rural communities, but cities have most of the problems of the country, often in aggravated forms, and many more besides. The modern city, as a child of the Industrial Revolution, exists primarily to serve certain definite economic purposes in society. It is a center of manufacturing, trade, commerce, and finance because these functions can most efficiently be carried on by people living in compact groups. This close group life makes possible a high development of the sciences, literature, and the arts, but it also creates many and serious problems in human relationships.

City people are dependent upon others for the satisfaction of most of their wants. What one man produces in goods or services he does not ordinarily consume, but the wages he receives he spends in all directions for the goods and services of others. Most of these are secured through private channels; but city people have learned that there are many services which, to be done well or at all, they must perform for themselves in their collective capacity, and many other services which their government can provide more economically and efficiently than any private industry.

The collective needs of a city are many. (1) The protection of life and property is accomplished through a department of public safety which affords police and fire protection. (2) Public education is carried on through a system of grade and high schools under the direction of a school board, and most cities provide free public libraries. (3) Public health is safeguarded by a board of health which enforces vaccination and quarantine laws, inspects milk and other foods, and conducts free clinics in the schools and for the poor of the city. Most cities have established hospitals and many have sanatoriums for the treatment of tuberculosis and other diseases. (4) Public service in transportation, communication, electricity, and gas is usually provided to the citizens under contracts, called franchises, between private corporations and the

city. The better franchises limit the earnings of invested capital to a fair return, and fix the rates which the companies may charge the public. Many cities, however, own their gas and electric lighting plants and their own street railway systems. (5) Sanitation is sometimes under a sanitary board which supervises the cleaning of streets and parks and the disposal of waste, garbage, and sewage. (6) Public works, streets, parks and playgrounds, bridges, public buildings, etc., are provided and maintained under the direction of a department or board of public works. (7) Justice is administered through a system of municipal courts. (8) Taxes are collected and disbursed under a department of finance.

Cities are a recent development in America. It is not surprising, therefore, that the problems of cities have not all been solved. At the time of the first United States Census in 1790 the population of the United States was almost 3,000,000, of which less than 10 per cent lived in cities; in 1920, the population was 110,000,000, of which almost half, or about 50,000,000, lived in cities. Most of their growth has taken place within the last six or seven decades, Chicago as a city being about eighty years old and San Francisco less than seventy.

The earlier forms of local government, the counties and the towns, were in existence during the whole period of Colonial history and at the time of the establishment of the states, and their rights of self-government acknowledged and built into the state constitutions and governments. Our cities, on the other hand, have come into existence, for the most part, after the firm establishment of state governments, and these until recently have assumed a degree of control over cities not exercised in the case of towns and counties. The government of American cities has been so notoriously bad that within the last twenty years many of the states in one way or another have granted practical home rule to the cities within their borders.

Cities receive their powers of local government through charters from the state legislatures, creating them as corporations. Inasmuch as the citizens of a city are also citizens

of the state, the city charter very properly sets the limits of powers and privileges, serving, in fact, as a sort of "city constitution." Within the limits of the charter, the city makes its own laws or ordinances, and carries on all functions of local government.

The mayor and council form of city government was provided for in the early charters, and is still the prevailing form of city government in the United States. This form copies roughly the state and federal plans of organization, providing for the division of governmental functions into three branches—executive, judicial, and legislative, the judicial branch not being well marked.

The mayor is the city executive and is elected by the vote of the people. He generally appoints the heads of departments and thus indirectly controls the appointment of their subordinates. In some cities certain department heads are elected directly by the people, and in others certain ones may be elected by the city council on the nomination of the mayor. Such bodies as the board of education are variously created—sometimes by direct election, and sometimes by appointment of the mayor, or the council and mayor acting together; and sometimes by the authority of the council, serving as a committee of that body.

The city council, or board of aldermen, is the legislative branch of the city government, its members being chosen from the wards, or legislative districts, into which the city is divided. The council passes the city's laws, makes out and passes the city budget, and has the power of granting franchises.

The city courts usually try only the cases for minor criminal offenses brought in by the police, most of the civil and serious criminal cases coming under the jurisdiction of county and state courts. In addition to the old police courts for trying such cases as drunkenness and petty thievery, there have come in, in recent years, numerous special courts—juvenile courts for handling juvenile delinquency and crime, the primary object being to educate and train such offenders into something of a knowledge of the rights and duties of citizenship, and to overcome the evil effects of the bad environment which is most

likely responsible for their delinquency; night courts for the trial of petty offenses and to protect minor offenders and many innocent persons from being locked in jail; domestic relations courts to aid in the solution of numerous domestic problems leading to divorce and the resulting dissolution of families; and traffic courts to handle offenders against the laws governing the use of sidewalks and streets.

Most misgovernment and corruption in the United States have taken place in the cities under the mayor and council form of municipal government. The principal reasons are not far to seek. Authority is divided between the mayor, the council, and the other elective officials, so that the people are always confused as to responsibility. The opportunities for undetected corruption and bribery are numerous, the public business not going on in the public view. Then cities tend to become divided into more or less clearly marked districts, the saloon district, the colored district, the "silk-stockings" district, and others. Aldermen from the worst of these wards stay in power as long as they can control them by petty bribery and graft to their ward henchmen. Money for this purpose may have been secured for a vote on the city council in favor of some franchise-grabbing corporation. In fact, the alliance between the saloon and its concomitants on the one hand, and corrupt business on the other, has sat in the saddle of many a city's government for many a year.

The mayor and council form of government has shown itself very poorly adapted to performing the increasing services demanded by the progress of society without enormous graft and inefficiency. Its officials, with rare exceptions, are not generally of the sort who are interested in adequate parks, playgrounds, and breathing spaces; in the progress of education or extending its benefits to as many classes of people as possible through vocational schools, night schools, continuation schools, and open air schools; in the city beautiful, and in city planning and zoning to that end; in the problems of poverty and crime with any desire to solve them; in a municipal housing program to destroy the slum and remove the conditions that breed it; in a pure supply of food, milk and ice, and

the necessary laws and inspection service necessary to secure and safeguard it; in just taxation; in a health program looking to medical inspection of school children, to suppression and prevention of disease, and to the establishment and maintenance of adequate hospitals open to all; in a scientific and proper treatment of criminals and prisoners; in juvenile delinquency and the vice and crime which contribute to it; in the problem of unemployment and all of its accompanying evils; and in the adequate control of public utilities in the public interest.

The commission form of government originated in Galveston, Texas, in 1900, and has since been adopted, sometimes in modified form, by over five hundred cities. Under it the separation of powers into executive and legislative is abolished, and the entire affairs of the city are placed in the hands of a board of commissioners, usually five, elected at large. The commission is intrusted with all the powers of legislation and administration under the charter, and in addition its members are elected and act as heads of the administrative departments, such as public safety, public improvements, etc.

The plan has many advantages and has worked well, only a few cities which have adopted it having abandoned it. It concentrates power into a few hands, where the general public is better able to watch it and to place responsibility in case of maladministration; and it increases the efficiency of transacting the public business, by the removal of expert clerks, accountants, etc., from danger of loss of office at public caprice.

But the plan also has some objections. There is danger of the commission during its term coming under the control of sinister business interests and there is danger also of tendency toward oligarchy. To safeguard against these possible dangers the plan almost always carries with it provision for the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall.

The Initiative is the right of a certain small percentage of the voters to draw up a proposed ordinance or charter amendment and require its submission to a popular vote. If the measure receives a majority vote it becomes effective without regard to the commission.

The Referendum is the right of a certain small percentage of the voters to require any measure enacted or proposed to be enacted by the commission to be submitted to a popular vote, which is conclusive.

The Recall is the right of a certain small percentage of the voters to require any elective officer of the city (commissioner) before the expiration of his term, to stand again for election. The Recall election is administered exactly as any other election. If the officer intended to be recalled receives the highest vote he continues his term; if not, he retires at once in favor of a successful opponent.

The city manager plan is a development from and modification of the commission form. It originated in Sumpter, South Carolina, in 1912. A criticism of the commission form is that the commissioners are not usually expert administrators and familiar with such problems as taxation, engineering, education, and public health. Under the city manager plan, the commission retains actively its legislative function, but delegates its executive function to a city manager whom it appoints and has power to remove.

The city manager in turn appoints the heads of the executive departments, and is responsible under the commission for the administration of the affairs of the city. City management has become a profession, and commissioners employ managers much as boards of education employ school superintendents, or boards of directors of large industries employ shop superintendents.

City government has shown great improvement during the last quarter-century, and much of it has no doubt been due to improvements in the machinery of government; but free government is not a machine which will run itself—it requires the incessant interest and guidance of an intelligent, public-spirited, and educated citizenry.

Summary and Conclusions. A study of local government in the United States must be considered from two widely different aspects of the subject—government in the country and government in the city.

Rural local government is organized either on the basis of

the town, as in New England, or of the county, as in the South and Far West, or of the county divided into townships and combining certain features of both pure town and pure county government, as in the Middle West. Most of the features of rural local government are the results of centuries of experience in England and were brought over by the Colonists. They have changed little since the foundation of the government. However, with the great changes that have taken place in the last hundred years, rural local government no longer meets the situation as it once did. It must perform a multitude of services undreamed of a century back, and it must keep the peace among a more numerous people living in more complicated relations with one another. To meet these needs the tendency is for authority and responsibility to be concentrated into fewer hands working under the public eye.

City government was at first patterned after the fashion of our state and national governments, with a chief executive, the mayor, and a legislature, the city council. This system worked very badly, because it was artificial and was not the result of growth and experience. The service demands on government in the city are very much greater than in the country, and the conditions of life are much more complex. The cities led the way in the development of more responsible forms of local government. Of these, the commission form and the city manager plan are most important. The underlying principle is the same in both—the placing of authority in few hands under an increased popular control exercised usually through the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. Government must be administered by men. If we are to have a good government, we must elect good men and we must train the public eye.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

BEARD, C. A., *Readings in American Government and Politics*, pp. 514-517, 529-533, 538-540, 572-577, 581-584.

BEARD and BEARD, *American Citizenship*, Chaps. X, XI, XVI and XVII.

DUNN, A. W., *Community Civics*, Chaps. XXV and XXVI.

HILL, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chap. XVII.
MUNRO, W. B., *The Government of American Cities*.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Why do states place limitations on municipal governments?
2. Should a city own its own electric light plant?
3. Should the Recall be applied to judges?
4. What limits on city government do charters generally place?
5. Why has city government been stronger but more corrupt than county government in the United States?
6. Should cities have absolute home rule, and possibly representatives in the Congress of the United States?

CHAPTER IX

THE CITIZEN AND HIS STATE GOVERNMENT

State governments grew out of Colonial governments. In the earliest days of Colonial settlement, the local communities, while practically self-governing, were still nominally under the Colonial government as outlined by the Provincial charter granted by the British Crown. This central government was at first feeble, but as the country was settled and communities came into contact with one another and as trade and commerce developed, the government in each colony strengthened and extended its authority. Long before the Revolution, well-organized Colonial governments were in charge of all Colonial matters in all of the thirteen Colonies, while the counties and towns continued jealous of their rights of local self-government and ever watchful of encroachments on the part of the Colonial government.

The Colonial governments followed much the pattern of the English government. There were (1) the Colonial governor appointed directly by the Crown, (2) the judiciary, exclusive of the local magistrates, directly or indirectly appointed by the same authority, and (3) the Colonial legislature elected by the people. There thus existed, and for similar reasons, the same system of checks and balances, the same tripartite division of governmental functions into legislative, judicial, and executive, that characterized English government at the time, and which existed as the result to that time of the old struggle between Parliament and the king. In 1688, Parliament finally gained the ascendancy over both the executive and the judiciary and established the parliamentary form of government which England has since been developing and which has been adopted by the other self-governing countries of Europe.

Had Parliament extended the principle of legislative supremacy to America, the course of American history would probably have been very different, but this it did not do. Instead, as far as the Colonies were concerned, Parliament merely took up the same relations to them that the king had formerly assumed. There was thus no abatement of jealousy in the Colonies toward centralized government, and no reason for a change from the system of checks and balances. It is important to note this, for the fathers in establishing our state and national governments, following along lines with which they were familiar, built the system of balanced functions into the very fabric of American government. Furthermore, the old fear of centralized government has, without much justification, persisted down to the present time.

The state constitutions were largely modeled after the Colonial charters. At the beginning of the Revolution the people effectually ousted the royal governments by taking over the election of the governors and the control of the judiciary. They made over the Colonial charters which designated the machinery and functions of government, into their state constitutions, often with slight changes. In this way the written constitution, as the supreme instrument of government, came to be the established method in America. Since the adoption of the federal Constitution, the legal method of constitution-making is through the convention, provision for which is made by the existing legislature. It consists of popularly elected delegates who meet and draft a new constitution intended to meet the will of the people, and its adoption requires a majority vote. Most of the older states have adopted new constitutions at least twice in this way.

New states are admitted on an equality with the older states. As the country west of the Appalachians was gradually occupied, some sort of government had to be provided. There have been three clearly marked stages in the creation of a state. At first, while population was thinly scattered, Congress laid out the territory and governed it directly. Later, as the population could support a government, Congress organized the territory, providing a territorial government, with

a legislature elected by the people and a Governor appointed by the President. Then, finally, upon application for statehood to Congress, that body by means of an enabling act, authorized the calling of a constitutional convention. The proposed constitution, having been approved in most cases by the people of the territory, was submitted to Congress. The approval of Congress was necessary at this stage in order to insure to the people of the new state a republican form of government as guaranteed by the federal Constitution, but Congress has no right to impose any permanent limitations that would in any way restrict the sovereignty of a new state within the Union. All new states in this way came into the Union on a basis of equality with all the other states.

The state constitution is the supreme law of the state, limited only by the Constitution of the United States for the sake of the Union. All persons and groups of persons within the state are subject to its provisions, and yet the people as a whole are in theory superior to it, for they created it, and they may change it at will, or they may substitute altogether another constitution for it, subject only to orderly process as outlined in the old constitution. Here again we see that in a democracy the issue of good government or bad rests at last upon the intelligence, the education, and the virtues of the people.

A constitution is a charter from the people to their government, and as such in every case contains three principal groups of provisions:

1. It describes and delineates the machinery of government,
2. It limits the powers of government, and
3. It reserves the final authority in the hands of the people through the power to amend.

These will be taken up at length in the order named.

The machinery of government in every state consists of an executive branch, a legislative branch, and a judicial branch. This arrangement is based on the theory of balanced powers, in which all branches are coördinate, and none is supposed to be superior.

The principal executive authority is vested in a Governor, as chief executive, but his powers are relatively in no way as extensive as those of the President of the United States, who is responsible almost solely for his administration through his power to appoint heads of the executive departments. The heads of the executive branches in the state government, the Secretary of State, the Treasurer, the Auditor, the Attorney-General, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Commissioner of Agriculture and other commissioners, are all almost universally elected by popular vote. The responsibilities of administration are thus divided among several heads comparatively independent of one another.

The Governor is responsible for the general execution of the laws of the state. He has no direct authority over the county sheriffs (except that in some states he may remove the sheriff for malfeasance in office), but he does command the state militia, which he may use to quell riots and subdue mobs in any part of the state, being usually called upon for this purpose by the county sheriff in emergencies beyond the sheriff's control. He appoints many minor state officials, usually, however, with the approval of the state Senate, such as tax or corporation commissioners, and superintendents of the state's penal and eleemosynary institutions.

The Governor's relations to legislation are important. He may call special sessions of the legislature in case of presumed emergencies, and in every state but North Carolina he has the power of veto over measures passed by the legislature. By means of these two powers he takes a position of leadership in legislation, pressing for the enactment of legislation which he favors, or feels that the people favor, and preventing the enactment of laws to which he is opposed or to which he feels the people are opposed. Unlike the President, the Governor in many states may veto portions of a bill without affecting the legality of the rest of it. This may be a very useful power in obstructing the "log-rolling" and "pork barrel" tactics of politicians whereby they often seek to put through obnoxious legislation as "riders" to otherwise good measures. In states where the Governor does not have the power of selective veto,

he often feels compelled to sign a bill which is 51 per cent good and 49 per cent bad in order to secure the good in it.

The Governor touches the judiciary in his power to pardon and to commute sentences. Many states have provided pardon boards to assist the Governor in this function, partly to make possible more thorough investigations of cases and partly to relieve him of the heavy responsibility. The Governor also secures the extradition of fugitive criminals from and grants their extradition to other states through their executives. He is everywhere elected by popular vote and his term of office is usually four years, although many states limit it to two years.

The other officers of the executive branch are a Lieutenant-Governor who presides over the state Senate and assumes the position of chief executive in case of the death or disability of the Governor; a Secretary of State, who is responsible for the state records, keeps the state seal, issues charters to corporations, and has charge of election notices and returns; a Treasurer, who is custodian of the state funds; an Auditor, who supervises the accounts of the state and issues warrants for the payment of moneys owed by the state; and an Attorney-General, who acts in the courts on behalf of the state in all cases in which the state is involved, and serves as the legal adviser to the Governor and other officers of administration. These offices are elective in almost all states.

There are, in addition to these old and long-established offices, a long list of minor executive offices created in more recent years to administer a host of laws made necessary by the increasing complexity of our social and economic life: a tax commissioner, to see that the tax laws are obeyed and that all taxes are duly paid; an insurance commissioner, to administer the insurance laws for the protection of the life and property of the people, and to see that none but sound companies are allowed to do business within the state; a banking commissioner, to license and inspect all state banks for the protection of depositors; a highway commissioner, to supervise the construction and maintenance of state highways; a corporation commission, consisting of several commissioners

acting as a board, to regulate in the public interest the rates of public service corporations; and numerous others. It is interesting to note that in most of the states these newly created administrative offices are appointed by the Governor, usually with the approval of the state Senate, while the older executive offices named above are still elective.

This change has come, for the most part, from a change in the popular attitude toward the office of Governor, especially in the relation of that office to the legislature. In Colonial times, the Governor was the representative of the British Crown, while the legislature was the chief guardian of popular rights. At the beginning of our national existence, therefore, the states reposed a great deal even of executive control in the legislatures, while dividing and hedging about the natural prerogatives of the governorship, and this attitude has persisted to the present day. Experience is showing, however, that in a system of checks and balances, the legislative and judicial branches are a sufficient check on the executive, and that the ancient popular jealousy of centralized authority is not very well founded.

Tax, insurance, and banking commissioners are in fact and effect executive officers. If the notion of responsibility concentrated in the hands of a few officials directly amenable to the people is to prevail in this country as it has grown in the last few years, then the logical next step would be to make the office of Governor truly executive, with power to appoint all administrative subordinates (possibly with the approval of the Senate) and directly responsible to the electorate for the administration of the state's affairs.

Legislative authority, the power to make laws, is vested in a legislature or general assembly. Its extensive powers are limited only by the Constitution of the United States and by the state constitution of which it is a creature. Its powers fall into three natural groups, (1) to lay down the rules governing all civil relations, contracts, inheritances, marriage and divorce, mortgages, property, interest, etc.; (2) to define and provide for the prevention and punishment of crime; and (3) to promote, through the police power, the general welfare by

means of laws concerning the public health, poor relief, education, development of industries, abatement of nuisances, etc.

In all the states the legislature is composed of two houses—a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate is always the smaller and its members therefore elected from larger districts, and for a longer term, commonly four years. The membership of the House of Representatives varies greatly in the different states, but is usually from two to four times the number in the Senate. Its members are usually elected for two years, from counties or subdivisions of the senatorial districts. Both Senators and Representatives are elected by the vote of the people. While the bicameral system was no doubt intended at first to give the propertied class a check on legislation through the Senate and the non-propertied classes adequate representation through the House, its principal usefulness has come to be recognized in preventing hasty or corrupt legislation. Washington said that the two-house system serves to cool legislation, as one pours tea from his cup to his saucer.

The legislature meets in regular session in most states every two years, and the session is usually limited to fifty or sixty days. Both houses proceed immediately to organize. In the Senate the Lieutenant-Governor presides as president, but the House must elect its speaker. Both houses then appoint their standing committees, on finance, on agriculture, on education, on judiciary, on insurance, on corporations, on privileges and elections, on commerce and navigation, on banks, on taxation, on public health, on forestry, on fish and game, on towns and cities, on trades and manufactures, on penal institutions, and others. As bills are offered by the members, the clerk announces the titles, gives them numbers, and the presiding officer refers them to the appropriate committees, this procedure constituting the "first reading." Three readings on different days, with a favorable vote on the second and third readings, is necessary before the bill is said to have passed the House.

The standing committees exert a tremendous influence on legislation, for they may alter a bill in any way they see fit,

or they may refuse altogether to report it back to the House. The great majority of bills offered are "killed" or "pigeon-holed" by the committees and this is well; but many good bills are thus stifled and many bad ones reported out. For the committees are not obliged to, although they often do, hold open public meetings, or "hearings," where the friends and opponents of a measure appear to present arguments for or against it. On the other hand, they may meet in secret, and it is here where most of any mischief takes place. Committees are frequently under the control, through bribery or near bribery, of powerful corporations or other private interests. The "lobby" is largely composed of the representatives of these, and they devote their principal attention to the committees as being the easiest and least observed method of blocking any legislation which they think is inimical to their interests, or of inserting, as "riders" or "jokers" attached to otherwise good bills, measures which they know they could get through in no other way.

If a bill is acted upon favorably it is reported out to the House for passage. If it there passes both readings it is sent to the other House, where it receives the same treatment. Bills which pass both Houses are sent to the Governor. If he signs them they become laws—if he vetoes them, they can only become effective by receiving a two-thirds vote in each House.

The history of the last century shows a steady decline of the legislature in popular esteem. This is attributable to the frequent cases of dishonesty; to the betrayal of the public interest to franchise-grabbing corporations and other special and selfish interests; to extravagance; and to the failure of the legislative branch to meet the changing needs of the new day. Attempts have been made to correct this weakness, by two principal methods. The revised constitutions have more and more placed restrictions on the legislature by increasing the power of the Governor and by incorporating into themselves numerous provisions which are in effect legislation. Then there has arisen in the last few decades the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall, which gives the people direct power to pass legislation independent of the legislature, to

pass upon any legislation proposed or passed by the legislature, and to retire to private life any public servants who are recalcitrant in their duty. These later restraints, it should be said, have not been greatly used in the states where they are legal. This is not to say, however, that they are not useful, for the existence of these powers in the hands of the people ready at any time to be used must be a considerable check on legislative incompetency. The people, on the other hand, as a whole, generally have as good government as they deserve. The methods and forms of government are of the greatest importance, but the only sure safeguard, let it be said again, is an enlightened and virtuous citizenry.

The judiciary of a state under its constitution usually consists of justice and police courts, county courts, circuit or superior courts, and a supreme court or court of appeals. Since justice and county courts have already been discussed in the chapter on local government, we may confine our present discussion to the circuit and supreme courts.

The courts apply the constitution and the laws to the cases which are brought before them. The causes of action are almost without number, falling into the two classes, criminal and civil. Criminal action is brought for violations against the peace and dignity of the state, and civil action against violations of the individual right to security, liberty, and enjoyment of private property.

The more serious crimes are called felonies, as murder, arson, burglary, kidnapping, bigamy, robbery, forgery, larceny, and manslaughter; the less serious are classed as misdemeanors, as assault and battery, bribery, libel, disturbance of the peace, reckless driving, minor destruction of public property, spitting in public places, and numerous others.

In the case of crime, the first step is the arrest of the accused person, either upon indictment by a grand jury, or upon a warrant issued by some court and served by a police officer, or by an officer or citizen who is either a direct witness to the crime or has every reason to believe that the person apprehended is the person guilty of a crime known to have been perpetrated. The accused is brought as soon as possible before

a court for a preliminary hearing. If there is no probability of his guilt he is at once released, otherwise he is lodged in jail or released on bond if the offense is not a capital one. The amount of the bond is usually equivalent to what the fine and costs would be in the case of conviction and is imposed to require the appearance of the accused for trial. Next follows indictment by the grand jury, which holds its sessions in secret and hears only the accusatory side of the evidence. If this body holds that there is sufficient evidence of probable guilt the accused is indicted of the crime and held for trial before the criminal court; in case of insufficient evidence, the jury dismisses the case, the accused is released from custody or his bondsmen discharged. The trial is held before a circuit or superior court.

Here a jury of twelve is first selected. The prosecution and then the defense present their witnesses, closing with the arguments of the attorneys for and against the defendant. The judge then charges the jury as to the law in the case (in most states the jury is the judge of both the law and the facts), after which the jury retires to consider the verdict. An unanimous vote is required either to acquit or to convict. If the jury cannot agree, a new trial is ordered; if they acquit, the judge frees the prisoner at once; if they convict, the judge imposes the sentence required by law.

In a criminal case, prosecution is carried on in the name of the state, and the state may not appeal if it loses; but a convicted person if he feels that he has not had a fair trial or that his constitutional rights have been violated, may appeal to the supreme court. This court usually judges only the law in the case and after hearing may (1) confirm the verdict, (2) reverse it, or (3) order a new trial. There are few reversals in practice; most verdicts are confirmed and a few ordered for retrial.

Civil offenses are those against the fundamental rights of the individual. Suit is brought not by the state, but by the person aggrieved, against another who has wronged him in person or property. The civil courts are thus the administrators of justice between persons. Civil suits involve property

rights, including inheritance, rights under contracts of all sorts, rights in domestic relations, and the rights of individuals associated for business purposes.

The court procedure in civil cases is somewhat similar to that of criminal cases. The trial, however, is of a cause and not a person, and there is, therefore, no arrest, no bond, and no imprisonment. There is the further difference that either or both sides may appeal to the higher courts. It is by the full use of the right of appeal to the higher courts that the gravest injustices are sometimes done, for in a struggle of this kind the advantage is all on the side of wealth. It is here that the "law's delays" are most apparent—and delayed justice is frequently no justice at all. Furthermore, there must be almost countless cases where willful and wealthy men and corporations ride rough shod over the rights of others more peaceful or weaker than themselves, because the latter realize the practical impossibility of enforcing their rights within their means. It would seem that justice between persons should be free, and that it is the duty of the state to see that it is provided.

In addition to the system of courts from lowest to highest found in most states, justice, county, circuit, and supreme, there are often found numerous other courts for special purposes, chancery courts, probate courts, juvenile courts, courts of claims, and others.

The judges are quite generally elected by popular vote, but there are many who think, in order to secure a judiciary independent alike of powerful interests and the irresponsible masses, that they should be appointed by the state's executive. However, where election is for a long term the system has worked fairly well. Our courts are held in high esteem by the people, but they are sometimes lazy and too much tied down by precedent, deciding their cases as though we were living in the days of Charles II.

In addition to establishing the machinery of government, constitutions limit the powers of government, first in a positive way, by including much legislation more or less fundamental, not to be trusted to the legislature, and second, in a negative

way, by forbidding any branch of the government from interfering with certain cherished individual rights.

These rights, commonly called the Bill of Rights, have come down to us from the long past, and are our most precious safeguards against oppression and tyranny. The Bill of Rights guarantees freedom of religion and religious worship; freedom of speech and of the press; freedom of peaceable assembly and petition; freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures; and freedom from excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishments. It guarantees to any accused person the right of the writ of habeas corpus; the right of indictment only upon presentment by a grand jury; and the right to a speedy, fair, and public trial by an impartial jury, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to the assistance of counsel for his defense. Under it no person can be deprived of private property for public purposes without just compensation; or twice put in jeopardy of life or limb for the same offense; or compelled in a criminal case to testify against himself.

These precious rights are found only in democratic countries. How precious they are may be seen by viewing the countries where they do not exist—Turkey, Russia under the Tsarist régime, and most Oriental governments. In fact, autocracy and tyranny could hardly exist where they are in force, and the people are wise to incorporate them in their fundamental law, away from the power of legislatures, executives, or courts to tamper with them.

Constitutions also reserve final authority in the hands of the people through the power to amend them. The devices for this purpose are numerous, so that it is possible here to discuss them only in a general way. In many states proposed amendments originate in the legislature, where they are required to be passed either by an extraordinary majority or by two successive legislatures, before being submitted to popular vote. A popular majority is usually all that is required to incorporate the amendment into the constitution.

In other states, amendments by a convention elected by the

people is the rule. In this case, the legislature, commonly by a required extraordinary majority, first submits the question of constitutional revision to popular vote. If this is favorable, the legislature then provides for a popular election of delegates to a convention. The constitution which this body drafts is then submitted to the people for approval or rejection.

It will be noted that in both these methods, movement for constitutional revision is initiated in the legislature. To bring the power still closer to the people, a few more recent constitutions provide for amendment through the initiative and referendum, whereby a certain relatively large percentage of the voters may require a proposed amendment to be submitted to popular vote.

In addition to these, President Roosevelt proposed the recall of judicial decisions affecting constitutional matters. By this method, which has not met with much favor, it would be possible, by means of the referendum, to submit any decision of a court construing a clause of the constitution to popular vote. The decision of the voters would either affirm the judicial construction or in effect amend the constitution.

The changes in government since the formation of the states as it respects the organic law, or the various branches and subdivisions established under it, have all been in the direction of greater popular control. Whatever limitations exist, the people, at least in theory, impose upon themselves. Two movements are clearly discernible; one, the tendency to concentrate authority in few hands, where responsibility can easily be fixed by the people at large. This is the idea which lies back of the short ballot. The other is the tendency to hold a greater measure of control directly in the hands of the people. This is the idea of the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. It remains to be seen which is best suited to the changing times. No doubt, both are useful each in a particular case, and both lay an increasing burden of responsibility upon the voters of the country.

Summary and Conclusions. Like our local forms of government, our state governments are a development from Colonial forms which were in turn derived from England. They are

all based on the theory of balanced functions, the judiciary, the executive, and the legislature being coördinate but independent. As a heritage from Colonial times people are still jealous of centralized authority, as is shown by the strict limitations on the power of the Governor. Later changes however, have increased his power and it is probable that in the future his authority will be still further increased. To guard against the abuses of centralized authority, a few states use the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall.

The constitution of a state is the supreme law of the state under the Constitution of the United States. A state constitution (1) creates the government and outlines its functions; (2) it states what the government can do and cannot do; and (3) it places all power finally in the people through provisions for a new constitution or for amending the old one. In this country, therefore, government may be as bad as the people will tolerate or as good as they care to make it.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

BEARD and BEARD, *American Citizenship*, Chaps. IX and XV.
BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics*, Chaps. XXII and XXVI.

DUNN, A. W., *Community Civics*, Chap. XXVII.

HILL, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chap. XVIII.

HOLCOMBE, A. N., *State Government in the United States*.

MUNRO, W. B., *The Government of the United States*, pp. 389-534, inclusive.

YOUNG, J. T., *The New American Government and Its Work*, Chaps. XV and XVI.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Does your state need a new constitution? Why?
2. What is meant by, "Ours is a government of laws and not of men"?
3. What is the common law?
4. What is the difference between a constitutional provision and a law?
5. Is rebellion a right superior to government?
6. Why are the services of government shifting from the smaller to the larger units of government?

CHAPTER X

THE CITIZEN AND HIS NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The government of the United States, like all good government, is a growth. The Constitution establishing it did not spring into being as something entirely new in the world. Its rather sudden appearance on the panorama of history is explained by the breakdown of the Confederation, but there is scarcely a provision in it which is not founded on Colonial or English governmental experience. The Constitution not only contains the best experience of the past, but it goes further and provides for the utilization of the best experience of the future through amendment. This has taken place through formal changes in the instrument itself, but other changes have occurred through judicial construction, and through custom.

The Articles of Confederation adopted toward the close of the Revolution were little more than a legal confirmation of the small powers that the Continental Congress had assumed for the prosecution of the war. The force of union had resided in the common danger with which all the states were alike confronted, rather than in the form of government supposed to unite them. The war over, the almost total insufficiency of the government began to appear. Its fundamental defects were that it lacked the power to tax, and it could not regulate the commercial relations between the states, being a loose compact between free and sovereign states, which were jealous of centralized government and fearful of "outside domination." Its Congress, the sole agent of national government, came together not as representatives of the people, but as delegates from the states, which could recall them at will. Congress could request each state for its share of support to the national government, but could not enforce the request; it could make treaties with foreign powers, but could not make

the states observe them; it, only, had the power of declaring war, but it could not prevent the states from warring upon one another, with the Indians, or upon foreign countries; it had no power to regulate commerce between the states, which was a most fruitful source of quarreling among them. The government, in short, lacked power. There was no national judiciary or executive as such.

The new Constitution, adopted in 1788, remedied all these defects. Like the constitution of a state, it purports to derive its authority from the people, who may be said thus to have set up two governments, neither superior to the other and each supreme in its field. A citizen of a state is also a citizen of the United States, owing allegiance to both, voting now in one capacity and now in the other, and subject to the separate laws and judicial systems of both. This federal principle of the division of authority between the states and the national government was a peculiar contribution of the convention which framed the Constitution in 1787, without which it is probable "a more perfect Union" could not have been formed. Under the federal Constitution, the national government may do only those things expressly allowed by it, while all other powers are reserved to the states. In general, the national government has regulatory powers only over those matters which concern the people as a whole, while each state is left free to control all of its internal affairs.

The powers conferred on the federal government by the Constitution are ample. They include the power to lay and collect taxes; to borrow money on the credit of the United States; to regulate commerce between the states and with foreign nations; to coin money and regulate weights and measures; to establish post offices and post roads; to grant patents and copyrights; to declare war and make peace; to raise and support armies and navies; to control immigration and naturalization; and to enact and enforce such laws as will promote the general welfare. And certain powers are denied the states, such as to enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; to coin money; to lay any impost or duties on imports or exports without the consent of Congress; to keep troops or ships

of war in time of peace; to enter into any agreement or compact with another state or with a foreign power; or to engage in war unless actually invaded or imminently threatened.

The provisions of the Constitution of the United States, like those of the states, fall into three groups.

1. It describes and delineates the machinery of government.
2. It sets limits on the powers of the federal government, and establishes its relations to the states.
3. It provides for its own amendment.

The machinery of government is based upon the division of power into the three branches—executive, legislative, and judicial. This system was adopted not only because the men of the convention were familiar with it, but because it seemed to meet well conditions as they existed. The old executive authority which they had learned to fear and with which had been recently fought a successful war, was gone; and in its place had appeared the people as the final source of authority. But the founders did not trust the people; they did not believe in democracy in its modern sense, but government by representatives of the people far removed from popular caprice. The Constitution which they framed, therefore, is designed to steer a middle course between unrestricted popular control on the one hand and executive domination on the other.

Under it, the President of the United States is the Chief Executive, elected for a term of four years. He must be not less than thirty-five years of age, and a native-born citizen of the United States. His salary fixed by legislation is at present \$75,000 per year, but to this must be added the use of the White House, an allowance for travel, clerical and other expenses, to a total of \$300,000, which, considering the many obligations on the President, is not extravagant.

The President is in effect elected by the vote of the people, but this is not in accordance with the intent of the Constitution, and is an illustration of the amendment of that instrument by custom. Legally, he is elected by an Electoral College, a body consisting of representatives from each state, in number equal to the total representation in Congress

(Senators and Congressmen) from the state, and elected in manner determined by the state legislature. The original intention was that the Electoral College should name the President and the Vice-President, independent of the people; but with the growth of parties, a development not anticipated by the founders, the party vote in a state has been regarded as morally binding on the electors of that state. If no candidate for President receives a majority of all the electoral votes, the President is chosen by the House of Representatives, voting by states; and if no candidate for Vice-President receives such a majority, he is chosen by the Senate. In case a President is not elected by the House by March 4 following the general election, the Vice-President becomes President.

The nominations for President and Vice-President are nowadays made by national party conventions. These are entirely un contemplated by the Constitution, having developed entirely outside it, and being regulated, and then only to a slight degree, by law. For a century the country has been governed by parties, but with the increase in the number of independent voters, who refuse to wear the party label regardless of whether the party is good or bad, there is a wholesome change coming over our methods of conducting the national government. Old parties tend to become timid. A large independent vote, by throwing its strength in the direction of progress (and independents are usually progressive), either by forming a new party or by voting with the most progressive of the old ones, can often compel government more fully to perform the services for which it exists.

The authority of the President is very extensive—compared with the Governor of a state, he is a real executive. His most important powers concern (1) execution of the federal laws, (2) legislation, and (3) foreign relations. His effectiveness in the exercise of these functions is largely made possible by his extensive powers of appointment. He appoints, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the members of his Cabinet, who are the heads of the executive departments, together with many of their principal subordinates; the ambassadors and ministers to foreign governments; consuls to foreign cities all

over the world; federal and supreme court judges in the event of vacancies, together with numerous other officials connected with the judiciary; and thousands of minor positions, such as postmasterships.

The members of the President's Cabinet are his chief advisers in conducting the administration, and his chief assistants in carrying out his executive functions. The Secretary of State carries on the official correspondence with the several states and with foreign governments, and negotiates treaties; the Secretary of the Treasury has charge of the government's finances; the Secretary of War controls military affairs; the Attorney-General represents the government in suits in which it is interested, prosecutes offenders against the federal laws, and serves as the legal adviser to the President and other officers of the government; the Postmaster-General has charge of the United States postal system; the Secretary of the Navy supervises the navy and naval officers; the Secretary of the Interior has supervision of the government's activities in connection with patents, public lands, pensions, mines, education, and reclamation; the Secretary of Agriculture, through his department, looks after the welfare of the agricultural interests, the extension work in experimentation and agricultural education being carried on through this department; the Secretary of Commerce supervises foreign and domestic commerce, the census, fisheries, navigation, and standards; and the Secretary of Labor has charge of the regulations on immigration, naturalization, and child labor, and the gathering of labor statistics.

The President's influence on legislation is exerted through his messages to Congress, his power to veto, his power of appointments, and his power to call Congress into extraordinary session. His congressional messages are widely read and discussed, and by "appealing to the country" a strong President like Roosevelt or Wilson can often carry through measures that Congress might otherwise be unwilling to pass. All federal acts must be submitted to him for approval. If he vetoes a measure, it can only become a law by passing both houses of Congress with a two-thirds majority. He can thus

generally prevent the passage of any legislation which he regards as unwise. Through his appointments to federal positions in the several states the President, by this control of "patronage," if he distributes it judiciously to suit the members of his party in Congress, can so bind them to his administration as to secure through their support the enactment of the legislation that he desires. The growth of the President's power over Congress in this respect has been very notable in recent administrations, as will be discussed in a later paragraph.

The President carries on all relations with foreign governments, negotiates treaties with them, and meets their ambassadors and ministers. All formal treaties and understandings with foreign governments to become effective must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. The Senate takes its function in this respect very seriously, not hesitating to amend or reject any treaties submitted by the President. Since the President's party seldom has so large a majority in the Senate as two-thirds, and since Senators no longer represent the states as such, but the people of the states (see Amendment XVII), it has been suggested that the ratification of treaties be made by a majority of both houses of Congress. The President has no power to declare war, but he can often, as Polk did in the case of Mexico, bring diplomatic relations to such a state that war is inevitable. It should be said, however, that all other war Presidents have led their country into war with extreme reluctance. The President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and has power to use these forces in the execution of federal laws, or when called upon by any state to suppress insurrection within it.

In addition to the President's numerous other powers, he has authority to pardon all offenders against the laws of the United States except those convicted upon impeachment.

The legislative authority of the United States is vested in a Congress, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Congress has power to levy taxes directly or indirectly for the support of the federal government; to regulate commerce between the states and with foreign countries, in-

cluding the regulation of trade and the maintenance of the postal system; to declare war and maintain an army and navy; to control the territories and public lands; and to legislate for the general welfare of the people of the United States.

The life of a Congress is limited to two years, from March 4 of an odd year to March 4 of the next succeeding odd year. All of the seats in the House of Representatives and one-third of those in the Senate are vacant every two years, the election being held in November of the even years, the terms of office of the newly elected members beginning the following March 4. Congress holds two regular sessions—the “long session,” beginning in December of the odd years and usually lasting several months; and the “short session,” beginning in December of the even years and ending not later than March 4 following. It should be noted that the short session is held after the election of a new Congress, and often consists of many Representatives and Senators who have just been defeated at the polls. Because the short session is partially irresponsible and frequently seeks to enact measures that will embarrass the incoming Congress or administration, it would seem desirable that it be abolished, by moving the date when Congressmen, newly elected Senators and the President take office, back from March 4 to near the 1st of the preceding January, and setting new dates for the regular sessions of Congress.

In addition to the regular sessions, the President has power to call Congress into extraordinary session at any time.

The Senate of the United States consists of ninety-six Senators, two from each state, large and small. A Senator must be at least thirty years of age, nine years a citizen of the United States, and a resident of the state from which he is elected. His annual salary is \$7,500, and his term of office six years. The elections of Senators are so arranged that one-third of that body only is up for election every two years. With each new Congress, therefore, two-thirds of the Senate, and of course a large percentage of the House, remain in office, thus carrying over many men experienced in legislation and giving continuity to this branch of the government. The

Vice-President of the United States is the president of the Senate.

Besides the legislative function of the Senate which is carried on in conjunction with the House and the President, the Senate has large executive and judicial powers. In conformity with the system of checks and balances, its approval is required for almost all appointments by the President, even the President's Cabinet; and for all treaties negotiated by him. It sits as a court in all impeachment cases involving federal officers.

The Senate has served admirably the purpose for which it was intended by the founders—to be the bulwark of property, aristocracy, and the moneyed interests, against possible encroachments by the “irresponsible masses” on the one hand, or a powerful Executive on the other. The long term of office, election (originally) by the state legislatures, the somewhat higher qualifications required than for the House, and the extensive authority delegated to it have conspired to make the Senate the most conservative and at times reactionary branch of the government. For nearly a century there has always been a large number of voters, and during the last half century no doubt a majority, who have wanted to make the Senate more nearly amenable to popular control by direct election, but the Senate itself successfully blocked all efforts at this reform until 1913, when the Seventeenth Amendment was finally passed by that body and quickly ratified by the necessary number of states. Since that time many men have gone to the Senate, especially from the Middle West, who are keenly sympathetic with the needs of the people, and the old oligarchic tendency seems to be slowly disappearing. Two forces are, however, tending to keep the Senate from becoming the popular body it should be. One is the lack of attention and memory on the part of the voters, who often ignorantly return a Senator to office without knowing or seeming to care whether his activities have been in line with their conception of the public interest or not. The long term, of course, gives the voters ample time to forget, and the conduct of many Senators shows that they fully appreciate the fact. The

other force is the seniority rule of the Senate itself, whereby the powerful positions of chairmen of the various Senate committees go to members who have served in the Senate longest, regardless of ability or qualifications. State leaders know this and consequently often work for the return of a Senator principally so that "their state" may secure the chairmanship of some important committee. The proper remedy for this is not competition between the states for long senatorial service, but the abolition of the seniority rule.

The House of Representatives at present consists of 435 members, elected from as many congressional districts, distributed among the states on the basis of population, no state, however small, having less than one representative. A representative must be at least twenty-five years of age, seven years a citizen of the United States, and a resident of the state (but not necessarily the district) from which he is elected. His annual salary is \$7,500, and his term of office two years. The Constitution provides for a census of the population of the United States every ten years. Upon the census, Congress determines the number of representatives and their distribution to the various states. Each state legislature organizes the congressional districts within its borders, making them as nearly equal in size as possible on the basis of population. The dominant party in the legislature always seizes this opportunity to "Gerrymander" the districts—i.e., to arrange them, sometimes into most fantastic shapes, so that their own party will have small but safe majorities in as many districts as possible, while the votes of their opponents are concentrated overwhelmingly into as few districts as possible. This practice is obviously unfair and undemocratic.

The Constitution confers the sole power of impeachment upon the House and also provides that all bills for revenue shall originate in that branch of the legislature. But its most extensive function is, of course, legislation. Upon convening, its first important step is the election of the Speaker. Each party having previously agreed upon its nominee, the election of the candidate of the majority party is a foregone conclusion, the defeated candidate becoming the floor leader of the

minority. The Speaker is far more than a mere chairman, being the leader of his party in the House and expected to use his position, often in a most partisan manner, in carrying out the purposes of his party. The positions of the floor leaders are important, for they must be experienced parliamentarians and skillful in furthering the measures agreed upon in the party caucus.

The party caucus has no constitutional standing, but it has become a most important instrument of legislation, nevertheless, and seems indispensable in a system of government by parties. It meets in secret and chooses the party's nominee for Speaker and the membership of the powerful committee on committees; it determines the policy of the party in matters of legislation and political strategy; and it is a powerful force in keeping the party together and in presenting a united front on the floor of the House. For every member who enters the caucus is morally obligated to vote in the House in accordance with its decisions, however repugnant they may be to his private convictions. If a member of a party knows beforehand that he will be unwilling to stand by the decision of his party caucus, his only honorable course is to remain away. If he stays away, and votes too often against his party on the floor of the House, he soon comes to be known as an "insurgent."

The appearance of an insurgent group is an interesting political development of the last two decades. If there are enough of them, united on one or more major issues (in which case they are called a bloc, as the "farmer's bloc" in the last Congress), their case is not altogether forlorn. For they are too powerful to be easily disciplined; they can lay some claim to being better representatives of their party than the major wing, and they may hold the balance of power between it and the minority party. It is from insurgent groups in Congress that so-called third-party movements have generally sprung. The Progressive Party of 1912 and the candidacy of Senator La Follette for President on an independent ticket (1924) are examples.

The House of Representatives in recent years has been de-

clining in influence relative to the Senate, and in popular esteem relative to the other branches of government. Most students of political science agree that this is principally due to the unwieldy size to which it has grown. A smaller body would admit of freer discussion and more mature deliberation; would reduce the number of bills offered; would most probably raise the standard of ability; and would be less expensive. The remedy lies in the hands of Congress itself.

The legislative procedure in Congress is very similar to that already described in connection with state legislation. Each house has its committees to which all bills are referred, and in which most of them quietly perish. Some of the most important committees of the House are those on Committees, on Rules, on Ways and Means, on Appropriations, on Rivers and Harbors, on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, on Foreign Affairs, on Immigration, on Agriculture, on Banking and Currency, on Public Lands, and on Post Offices and Post Roads. The Senate has similar committees.

In case either house refuses to pass a measure already passed by the other, it is referred to a joint conference committee consisting of members from both houses. The report of this committee is usually adopted by both houses without much discussion. Bills which have passed both houses are referred to the President for his approval or disapproval, as already described.

The judicial power of the United States under the Constitution is vested in one Supreme Court and such other inferior courts as Congress ordains and establishes. The jurisdiction of the federal courts extends to all cases arising under the Constitution itself and to all federal laws and treaties; to all controversies between states or between the citizens of different states; to all maritime cases and cases of admiralty; to those in which the United States is a party; and to suits commenced by a state against the citizens of another state, or between citizens of the same state under land grants from different states.

The federal judicial system consists of (1) a Supreme Court, (2) nine Courts of Appeal, (3) about eighty District Courts,

and (4) several courts established for special purposes. The Supreme Court at present consists of nine members, of whom one is chief justice. The associate justices receive each \$14,500 annually, and the chief justice, \$15,000. The necessary court officers provided for by law are appointed by the court. Members of the Supreme Court and all other federal judges, when vacancies occur, are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and they hold office for life or during good behavior, being removed only by process of impeachment.

The Circuit Courts of Appeals consist generally of three judges each. Their functions are very similar to those of the Supreme Court, being created, in fact, to relieve the Supreme Court from the great burden of appeals from inferior courts. Except for a few kinds of cases, their decisions are final unless they choose to refer them to the Supreme Court or unless the latter body, upon petition of either party, chooses to review them. These courts have no original jurisdiction, hearing only cases appealed to them from the lower federal courts or from state courts where a question under the federal Constitution is involved. Each Circuit Court of Appeals is supervised by a justice of the Supreme Court.

The District Courts are courts of original jurisdiction for most cases arising under federal laws. Attached to each court is a United States marshal, who is the executive officer of the court, and a United States District Attorney, who is the prosecuting attorney for the government. Each court appoints its own court officers.

Other federal courts are the Court of Customs Appeals and the Court of Claims.

While the Supreme Court throughout our history has generally been held in the greatest respect, the other federal courts have not escaped the criticism directed against the courts in general. The principal criticisms are three in number. (1) The court procedure is too involved, based upon a procedure derived from England three hundred years ago, and which England has long since simplified and remedied. The great number of technicalities in even the most ordinary

court processes take up tremendous quantities of time and offer innumerable grounds for appeal. So slow the courts sometimes are, that it requires years to reach final decisions. And the expense to litigants is often so great that it is said that the judicial process is so slow and costly as to be a luxury for the rich. Two remedies are proposed—to increase the number of courts and to simplify the procedure. Certainly our procedure can be simplified, for it has been done elsewhere. Possibly the general apathy and professional jealousy of the legal fraternity (Congress and the legislatures are largely made up of lawyers) are mostly responsible, for complicated procedure and delays make fat fees.

(2) The courts in later years have greatly extended their power of injunction, particularly in labor cases, to the alarm of many who see in this a denial of the constitutional right of trial by jury. An injunction is a court order directed either to persons named or else to persons unnamed (in which case it is called a "blanket" injunction), directing them to refrain from the commission of certain specified acts, usually against the rights of property. Disobedience of the court order constitutes "contempt of court," for which the judge issuing the order may, upon hearing, punish the offender without trial by jury. Much as the injunction has been abused, it has a useful and important place in procedure. Its time-honored purpose is to prevent irreparable damage, and its use for this purpose should be protected. But the injunction may *do* irreparable damage to a person enjoined, who later may be shown to have been correct in his position. The blanket injunction is particularly objectionable to many, for it is in effect a court command to everybody to obey the laws, and violation is followed not by trial in court before a jury for disobedience to law, but by trial without a jury before the judge issuing the injunction for disobedience of his order. It might be desirable to provide for the hearing of contempt cases, except those occurring immediately in the presence of the court or so near it as to interfere with the administration of justice, before a jury or in another court altogether. The Clayton Act of 1914 has done a great deal to stop the abuse of the injunction by the federal

courts,—practically by providing that disobedience of an injunction, constituting at the same time a crime against federal law, may be punished only after a trial by jury.

(3) While the Constitution does not anywhere confer upon the judiciary the power of passing upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress, the courts, both state and national, almost from the beginning of the government, have assumed that function. No doubt in a government based upon balanced powers, this authority could best be exercised by the courts; but the feeling has been growing for a long time in the minds of many that the courts are not as progressive as the people, that while they have in effect amended the Constitution by judicial construction in many decisions, they have frequently in many others by the same method killed much-needed legislation, and that this vast power is too great to be exercised by so small a body of men. The criticism is made with some force, for example, that it seems absurd that the Supreme Court, frequently by a vote of five to four, can declare unconstitutional and void an Act of Congress which has been studied and passed upon by 435 Representatives, 98 Senators, and the President of the United States, all of whom are sworn to support the Constitution. Several plans for curbing the power of the courts in this respect have been suggested—(1) the recall of judges, (2) the recall of judicial decisions, (3) the requirement that the vote of the Court for this purpose be some preponderant majority, as seven to two or six to three, and (4) the granting to Congress of the power by a two-thirds majority to overrule the court. It should be said that in the majority of cases the soundness of the court's decisions has been recognized and that only in a few but important instances has its wisdom been questioned.

The tendency in national government almost from its beginning has been toward more and more popular control. The first marked step was the almost immediate failure of the Electoral College as an independent and deliberative body, with the election of the President and Vice-President as its sole function. Since Washington's day, the President and Vice-President have been in effect elected by direct vote.

Then the Senate followed, long after, it is true; but for some time before the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment, the people had exerted considerable control, through the choice of members of the legislature pledged beforehand to vote for or against certain candidates for the Senate. And now the federal courts are widely criticized, often very foolishly, for thwarting the will of the people. In almost every suggestion for reform in government in all its branches, the germ idea will be seen to be the extension of popular control over government.

The founders were wise in not trusting the dearly bought gem of liberty too much to the prevailing ignorance of the time. With all their extraordinary foresight, they did not see and could not be expected to see the most wonderful century in the world's history lying just ahead, with its vast improvements in production, in transportation, and in communication, and with its great growth in public education—improvements which made both necessary and possible government by the people to a degree never practicable before on so large a scale. And those branches of government which have best kept pace with progress are those which have grown in power and in the esteem of the people. The increasing prestige of the Presidency and the corresponding decline of Congress are explained by the fact that the President has better served the needs of the people, while the Senate has too frequently resisted, and the House too frequently failed to apprehend the popular demands. As people have gradually come to see that government belongs to them, that it is not alone over but also under them, they have realized what a great force for the service of all it can be made to be. And government is greatly extending its services, to navigation, to reclamation, to transportation, to conservation of the nation's resources, to the public health, to public education, and to a score of other lines. This is not centralization, as so many think, but a mere application of the growing functions of government, and it is taking place with irresistible force, in response to the inexorable demands of progress and change, from the top to the bottom of the political structure. The old order changeth,

and government is seen to be not only a negative force for controlling and restraining, but a positive force as well for construction and service.

As the world grows smaller, and people realize that the new age has thrust them into most vital relations with all the other peoples of the earth, the functions of government to regulate and to serve must be further extended. Not only must the community, the state, and the nation be well governed—the world must be well governed, too.

Summary and Conclusions. The organization and structure of the federal government is similar to that of the states. The Constitution combines old ideas in new ways, but contains little that was unfamiliar at the time of the adoption in 1788. In view of the enormous changes since that date, it has worked marvelously well, but it has been amended nineteen times by the regular process, and many more times by custom and judicial construction. Beginning with slight control by direct popular action, the changes have mostly been in the direction of greater control by the people. While this seems natural in view of the increased education and enlightenment, and perhaps necessary in view of the greater complexities of life, it nevertheless lays a burden of responsibility upon people which they do not seem particularly willing to bear.

Some of the problems of our national government which need attention are (1) the power of the Senate, particularly with respect to foreign relations; (2) the power of the courts as respects the injunction, and that of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional; and (3) the reorganization of the House of Representatives into a more capable and efficient machine.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

ASHLEY, R. L., *The Practice of Citizenship*, pp. 333-341.

BEARD and BEARD, *American Citizenship*, Chaps. VII, VIII and XIV.

BEARD, C. A., *American Government and Politics*, Chaps. III and IV.

BURCH and PATTERSON, *Problems of American Democracy*, Chaps. VI and VII.

DOLE, C. F., *The New American Citizen*, Chaps. XIV, XV, and XVI.

DUNN, A. W., *Community Civics and Rural Life*, Chap. XXVII.

DUNN, A. W., *Community Civics*, Chap. XXVIII.

HILL, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chaps. XIX and XX.

KIMBALL, E., *The National Government of the United States*.

MUNRO, W. B., *The Government of the United States*.

YOUNG, J. T., *The New American Government and Its Work*, Chaps. I, II, III, IV, and XIV.

Questions for Discussion:

1. What is the difference between a federal and a national government?
2. What is the principal difference between a parliamentary government and a government of balanced powers?
3. Is child-labor legislation of national or only local interest? Why?
4. Is the government of the United States as democratic as that of England? Canada?
5. Does the county stand in the same relation to the state as the state does to the United States?
6. Is the Jeffersonian idea sound, that that government is best which governs least?
7. Does a nation's greatness depend upon territorial expansion?
8. Do nations inevitably grow old and decay?
9. Could the Civil War have been prevented if the Lincoln administration had come into power in January instead of the following March?

CHAPTER XI

THE CITIZEN AND INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT

As the world progresses, the forces which separate peoples are growing weaker, while the forces which unite them are growing stronger. A visitor from some other part of the vast universe to our small planet would probably be much surprised at the great number of races and nations, each with its separate language and body of customs and traditions, into which the human race is divided. This heterogeneity has come about through the long ages of the past, because the human population, except during the last few thousand years, has most probably been very sparse, and separated by the many barriers of nature impassable to primitive peoples. The oceans, seas and lakes, great rivers, mountain chains, and deserts were effective checks not only to the migration of tribes and peoples, but also to any sort of communication between them. In the "pockets" of the earth, between rivers, on islands and peninsulas, the earliest peoples developed through the ages, each its own separate language, customs, and industrial technologies.

But the ingenuity and indomitable spirit of man has been for a long time past and is still steadily breaking down the barriers. Man conquers distance with his telegraph, telephone, radio, railroads, steamships, and airplanes; he pierces the mountains with tunnels and leaps the rivers with bridges; and he is slowly evolving a common "language" of science, trade customs, religion, and international relations.

Difference in language is the last great barrier to world understanding. While the printing press has destroyed dialects and unified language in the civilized portions of the world, the tide cannot as yet be said to have turned very strongly in the opposite direction, toward a single world language. With

what comparative ease world problems might be solved if all used a common speech! But it is the customs, laws, and religion of a people, as congealed in their language, that are slowest to yield to outside forces. Most of the troubles calling for adjustment between peoples arise from the failure to keep pace in political, social, and economic relations with the march of science and industry. Science and industry are running ahead.

As the primal isolating forces, distance, language, and the barriers of nature are gradually giving way, new cohesive forces are coming into being and becoming ever stronger. Trade which is mutually beneficial, is a powerful force drawing peoples together, for if it is allowed to take its normal course they soon discover a mutual dependence. America needs Cuban sugar, and Cuba needs American manufactures. How dependent the American farmer is on the European market is shown during the last few years, by the effect on American farmers of Europe's buying power, reduced as it was by the Great War. The world is rapidly becoming one great economic unit, tied together by mutual necessities, so that one people can no longer say to the other, any more than the eye can say to the hand, "I have no need of thee."

Besides the exchange of economic goods, the peoples of the world need the exchange of ideas and experiences, of discoveries and inventions. The political and industrial progress of the past is the cumulative result of contributions made from practically all parts of the world. There is no people, however lowly, but that can teach the rest of the world something of art or of science, and contribute something of services and goods. The mutual relations set up by these exchanges require some sort of regulation, and it is their existence that creates most of the problems of international relations to-day.

The primitive method of adjusting relations between peoples or tribes was by force. As men developed ways of crossing the deep rivers, channels, and mountains, their tribes came into contact with one another. Whether these contacts were for the purpose of trading, or stealing goods, wives, or hunting-grounds, they certainly led to misunderstandings.

The savage way to settle a misunderstanding is to fight. Invasion resulted in expulsion, annihilation, or subjugation followed by absorption.

Contrary to common belief, wars have not "always existed." Contacts between peoples are a comparatively recent development, and without contacts war is impossible. Personal conflict is presumably as old as the race, but war as the conflict between large groups could not have occurred until man had tamed beasts of burden and learned to pass the barriers of nature. Those who say that wars have always existed usually mean the statement as a hopeless surrender to the notion that they must always continue to exist. But the sort of "wars" they mean—forays, raids, feuds, and piracies—have now been completely brought under the control of government in all civilized countries, while war in the modern sense is a new thing in the history of the race.

As man became more civilized, annihilation of his enemies became impossible and expulsion rarely resorted to. Contacts with weak neighboring tribes eventually resulted in conquest, and political subjugation or incorporation. Contacts with strong neighboring peoples were adjusted by means of treaties.

The leading nations of to-day are not old, scarcely one having existed in anything like its present form for a thousand years. Their rise almost accompanied the revival of learning which set in in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As production increased and industries developed, population grew. The resulting conflicts were settled by the process of conquest, which continued until some barrier of nature or of race was reached. Italy could not well go beyond the Alps, England could not cross the Channel, and France was bounded by natural barriers on all sides except the East, where she met the barrier of an alien people. The forces limiting the size of nations were the separating forces named above, the barriers of nature and of language and race. A nation should be a group of people, having a common language and customs and desiring a common social, economic, and political destiny. Whenever in modern times this natural unit is violated either by the desire for economic advantage or for easily defended

frontiers, a strain is produced which must be relieved by either peaceful or warlike means. The foolish notion that to be virile a nation must expand, and the equally foolish belief that the best method of adjusting relations between nations is by war and conquest, is by no means dead in this enlightened age.

Modern nations attempt to adjust their relations by means of treaties. Each government maintains in the capital of every other one, and in contact with its government, an ambassador or a minister with the necessary clerks and assistants. In addition to these, whose duties are mainly political, each leading nation maintains a consular service consisting of representatives in all of the principal cities of the world to look after the business interests of its citizens, to make reports to the home government on business conditions, and to assist citizens when traveling.

The position of an American ambassador is an important one. His appointment is made by the President with the sanction of the Senate. To succeed his knowledge of history and of modern conditions must be profound. He must understand the traditions and customs, the laws and religion, of the people in the country to which he is sent. He must be gifted with the art of diplomacy, that is, of securing the things desired by his government without losing the esteem and friendship of the nation with which he is dealing. He is in constant touch with both governments, and reports frequently to the Secretary of State, who transmits the President's orders to him. All official communications from one government to the other are made through him, except on rare occasions, when they are made direct, and then he is fully apprised.

A treaty is an agreement or contract made between two or more states (nations) and solemnly ratified. Before the development of the cable telegraph and radio communications, governments frequently negotiated important treaties through envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, but communication is now so easy, that negotiations are generally carried on by the regular ambassador, who is at all times informed of the detailed wishes of his government. When negotiations are completed copies of the treaty are made on parchment, and

signed by the various official representatives. In most countries this settles the matter, but in the United States a treaty has yet to secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate. Unsatisfactory as is this arrangement in many respects, it has the decidedly good effect of making American diplomacy "open." The secret treaty, binding people without their knowledge to contracts which they might not approve, is impossible in America, but it has been the curse of European diplomacy and the fruitful cause of many a bloody and destructive war. "Shirt-sleeve" diplomacy, by which is meant the American way of direct and open dealing, has long been smiled at by European statesmen, but if frank, honest, and open dealing is a virtue between nations, as it is between individuals, then America has a record in this respect of which she need not be ashamed.

The treaty method of adjusting relations between peoples has proved a failure, as the record of history shows. The principal reasons are: (1) There is no authority higher than the contracting nations for saying what a treaty means, but each nation interprets it for itself. The ink is hardly dry before the process begins of stretching the meaning of obscure passages to suit national interests. All dubious questions regarding it are open to discussion except those involving so-called "national honor," or "paramount national interest," or "national sovereignty"—high sounding expressions behind which diplomats attempt to conceal their real intentions when they mean to do as they please regardless of treaty obligations. (2) There is no power back of a treaty to enforce it except the good faith of the nations concerned and the public opinion of the world, a force which heretofore has been exceedingly feeble. A treaty when newly drawn is supposed to be of mutual advantage to both contracting parties; but new conditions may arise in which the advantages on one side disappear and the disappointed nation does not generally hesitate to repudiate its obligations, especially in time of war or other international disturbance. (3) A treaty is static, while life and human relations are dynamic. Legislatures meet every year or two, and Congress is frequently in continuous session to keep the

adjustments of relations in step with the march of progress. But a treaty is a form of legislation intended to settle a matter for all time, whereas in practice it merely lasts until changed conditions break it down, frequently with dangerous consequences.

In short, the method of adjusting international relations has failed because (1) there is no provision for the performance of the judicial, (2) or the executive, (3) or the legislative functions in a flexible and orderly way. Nations in the past have regarded the normal relation as one of rivalry or potential enmity, in need merely of rules to govern the game of commercial competition or open warfare; whereas, the normal relation is coming more and more to be seen as one of co-operation in supplying one another's wants, in need of a continuous machinery to preserve friendly relations, to establish justice and to promote the welfare of the peoples of the world.

International law is a body of rules and principles which contributes somewhat to the stability of international relations. It is of wider application than most treaties, for its provisions have received the sanction of all civilized nations; but it is in no sense a code of laws with the binding force of ordinary law. In fact, it is often violated, especially in war times, under the stress of "national necessity" or in retaliation for alleged violations on the part of the enemy. Respect for international law, however, is growing. Germany in the World War suffered the condemnation of the civilized world because she more frequently and more flagrantly violated its provisions than did her enemies.

International law is not the result of legislation by any international body, but is found in numerous treaties, writings of international jurists, the awards of arbitration, some decisions of national courts on international questions, and the results of international conferences. Some of its provisions are distinctly legislative in character, while others rest on custom or on undisputed acquiescence over a period of time. Under it, for example, nations generally agree that the high seas are the common property of the world, that national jurisdiction extends three miles from shore, that peoples have

the inherent right to choose their own form of government, that a nation is under obligations to protect the citizens of other nations while within its borders, and that ambassadors and other high public officials of foreign governments enjoy the right of extraterritoriality—*i.e.*, of exemption from the laws of the country to which they are sent, and the protection, instead, of the laws of their native land. It is sadly true, however, that the mass of international law has to do with the rules governing belligerents and neutrals in time of war. Most of the world's thought in the past on international law has been devoted to conduct in time of war, rather than to conduct in time of peace so that war could be avoided.

Before the World War each nation had always insisted on absolute national sovereignty, limited only by international law and treaty obligations; and even these limitations were not regarded as conclusive against "paramount national interest." In pursuit of selfish national interests, each nation was unavoidably on the defensive toward every other one and felt compelled not only to arm itself for an emergency, but, when the costs of arms and armament became greater than people would bear, to associate with itself other nations having similar interests into offensive and defensive alliances. There thus developed in Europe, as the best means of preventing war and keeping the peace on that continent, the system of competitive armaments, and the theory of the balance of power, with all nations as fully armed as possible and divided into two great armed camps arrayed against each other—the Triple Alliance, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, on one side, and the Triple Entente, Great Britain, France, and Russia, on the other. How well this arrangement succeeded in keeping the peace in Europe let the twenty million victims of the World War bear testimony.

From the foundation of the government, the traditional international policy of the United States has been to steer clear of European politics. Washington in his Farewell Address advised his country to avoid "permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world," and his advice has been consistently followed. For a hundred years it was comparatively

easy to follow, for America not only had no vital interest in European affairs, but all her energies were needed for her own internal development. Being essentially a buying nation, she was, during the last century, in theory and in fact, comparatively isolated from the rest of the world.

Secure in our isolation and with no intention of interfering in the affairs of Europe, it was logical that we should desire no interference in our affairs on the part of Europe. When, therefore, in the third decade of the last century the Holy Alliance, consisting of the principal governments of Europe except England, proposed to assist Spain in the recovery of the colonies she had just lost in America by successful revolution, President Monroe announced the doctrine, since that time a corner stone of American diplomacy, that "the United States should consider any attempt (on the part of European governments) to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety." Since its announcement a hundred years ago, the Monroe Doctrine has been considerably extended, (1) to exclude all nations of the Old World as well as those of Europe, (2) to prevent any Old World government from using its strength to decide in an arbitrary manner any controversy with a weaker American government, or (3) to take any territory from it in payment of debts. The Monroe Doctrine is the reciprocal of the policy laid down by Washington. The one says to the Old World, "We will not interfere in your political affairs," and the other says, "You must not interfere in ours." This century-old policy of splendid isolation was eminently desirable when the nation was young, when it was the only republic in a world of autocracies, and when its contacts with the rest of the world were few; and it might still perhaps be desirable if it were possible.

But it seems no longer possible. For a quarter century at least the United States has been a world power, with its large population, great wealth, and extensive commercial connections with all parts of the world. From 1790 to 1920 its population has grown from 3 million to 110 million; and its foreign commerce from 43 million to 13,342 million. From a buying nation it has become one of the greatest of selling nations;

and no country except Great Britain has anything like so extensive interests and relations in all parts of the world. It is idle to talk of isolation when we are in fact over head and ears in the vital affairs of the world. The irrepressible question which America must answer is, by what method shall she propose to settle the controversies which will in future inevitably arise? To assume that controversies will not arise, or to assume that war is the most satisfactory way of settling them, are both equally stupid.

The United States has led the world in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, by friendly negotiation and by arbitration. With but few exceptions, our international record is a clean one, and our open diplomacy has inspired and secured the confidence of the world. The Jay Treaty in 1794 between Great Britain and the United States, providing for the arbitration of many important matters under dispute, was the first of its kind. Since that time arbitration has been used in the world in more than two hundred instances, and over eighty times by the United States, to settle many serious misunderstandings—the Alaskan boundary, the *Alabama* claims, the Canadian fisheries, and, upon the insistence of the United States, the Venezuela boundary dispute with England, being outstanding examples of disagreements that could easily have led to war. Prior to the World War, through the efforts of Secretary Bryan, the United States had successfully negotiated arbitration treaties with over thirty nations, in which the contracting governments agreed to submit to arbitration every dispute which could not be composed by the ordinary diplomatic methods, and binding themselves not to go to war within a year after the rendering of the decision of the arbitration board. Canada and the United States maintain a permanent court, consisting of three representatives from each country, to settle the questions that arise in connection with the use of the rivers that flow between the two countries.

In 1899 the first Hague Peace Conference met in the capital city of Holland at the call of the Tsar of Russia for the purpose of clarifying international law and of reducing the burden of

armaments under which Europe was groaning. Nearly all civilized nations sent delegates, including the United States. Practically nothing was accomplished to reduce armaments or to provide for a more general application of the principle of arbitration, but a long list of conventions was adopted regulating the conduct of belligerents and neutrals in time of war. The conference was a conspicuous success only in establishing the precedent of nations getting together in time of peace to consider international relations with a view to preventing wars.

The second Hague Conference called in 1907 at the instance of President Roosevelt, was somewhat more successful. It took steps for establishing an International Court of Arbitration (the Hague Tribunal). This court now exists and has settled a few important cases, but the great weakness of the arrangement is that no nation is obliged to submit its disputes to the court, or to abide by any judgment rendered. The comparative failure of the Hague conferences was due principally to the tenacity with which the participating governments clung to the idea of absolute national sovereignty.

The statesmen and peoples of the world have been slow to see that just as in society the individual, and in our federal union the state, must surrender something of absolute independence for the sake of the larger liberty, so must the peoples of the world necessarily relinquish some fragment of national sovereignty for the sake of world peace and the larger liberties that come with friendly co-operation. Shall we continue to follow the path of unrestricted national sovereignty, commercial rivalry, and war or shall we turn into the highway of political affiliation, commercial co-operation, and peace?

The League of Nations is the first and only attempt to achieve a world government, based, as government must be, upon the partial limitation of complete freedom of action of the units composing it, for the sake of the wider interests of the whole group. Even before the World War there was much interest in some kind of association of nations, particularly for the purpose of world peace. The proposed League to Enforce Peace, of which William H. Taft was the principal spokesman, was much discussed, and many of its principal

ideas were incorporated subsequently in the constitution, or Covenant, of the League of Nations.

The existing League of Nations grew out of the World War and is principally the work of President Wilson. It is found as Part One to the Treaty of Versailles, ratified June 28, 1919. Practically all nations of the world are members, except Mexico, Germany, Russia, and the United States. Every nation is eligible to membership upon favorable vote of the assembly, and any may withdraw from the League upon two years' notice and fulfillment of all international obligations.

The League announces as its objects: "To promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another."

The organization of the League consists of (1) a Council, (2) an Assembly, (3) a Permanent Secretariat, and (4) a Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Council is composed of the five great powers, the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, together with four others selected by the Assembly from time to time at its discretion. Due to the failure of the United States Senate to ratify the treaty, the United States is unrepresented either in the Council or in the Assembly.

The Council met first on January 16, 1920, and nine subsequent times during the first year. Except in matters of procedure, on points dealt with in the treaty or the Covenant, and in cases where the government of a member is in dispute, the vote must be unanimous for action. The Council deals with any matter affecting the peace of the world or within the scope of the League's activities. The Council works through committees, the principal ones being on (1) Permanent Court of International Justice, (2) Secretariat and Finances, (3) Admission to the League, (4) Mandates, (5) Armament, and (6)

the Economic Weapon. It acts also as a board of inquiry in certain cases, and when war is threatened makes recommendations for the preservation of peace.

The Assembly consists of representatives from all countries members of the League. Each country has one vote and may send not more than three representatives. In common with the Council, the Assembly may consider any matter affecting the peace of the world. Disputes may be referred from the Council to the Assembly upon demand of either party, made within fourteen days from the time it is first referred to the Council.

The Secretariat consists of a secretary-general and such secretaries and staff as may be required. The secretary-general is appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly, and his secretaries and staff are appointed by himself with the approval of the Council. The Secretariat is responsible for all records of the League, publishes the findings of the Assembly and the Council, and is the repository of all treaties between member nations, no treaty being valid until received and published to the world. The secretary-general is required in an emergency, and at the request of any member, forthwith to summon a meeting of the Council.

The Permanent Court of International Justice created under the provisions of the covenant was formally opened at The Hague in May, 1922. This court will render decisions referred to it by any nations, whether members of the League or not, and may be called upon by both Council and Assembly for an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question.

The Provisions in the Covenant for the arbitration of disputes are of great importance. The members of the League agree:

1. To refer any dispute likely to lead to a rupture either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council.
2. To resort to war in no case until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report of the Council.
3. To carry out in full good faith any award made by the court of arbitration agreed upon by the parties to the

dispute, and not to go to war with a member of the League which complies therewith.

4. In cases submitted to the Council, to abide by the report of that body if unanimous on the part of all members not party to the dispute. (Resort to war, but not within three months, being possible only in case the members of the Council not parties to the dispute cannot agree.)

The members of the League agree:

1. That should any member resort to war in disregard of its covenants it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League.
2. That these shall immediately subject the covenant-breaking state to the severance of all trade and financial relations.
3. That the Council shall recommend to the several governments concerned what military force they shall contribute to be used to protect the covenants of the League; and
4. That they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any members which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

In spite of the fact that more than fifty nations of the world could see no particular danger to themselves in entering the League, the United States has thus far refused to join. The principal criticisms offered are (1) that it is a league of governments and not a league of peoples; (2) that the United States under Article X might be called upon to participate in foreign wars in which it had no vital interest; (3) that the system of mandatories for the protection of weaker peoples was really a cloak for imperialism, which might be extended to the Western Hemisphere in violation of our Monroe Doctrine; (4) that the Covenant and the treaty of which it is a part undertake to fix for all time the boundaries of nations; (5) that the British Empire through the representation in the Assembly of the six commonwealths of Canada, Australia, etc., would outvote the United States six to one; and (6) that

the organization of the Council guaranteed the perpetual control of that body to the five great powers named in the Covenant. How valid these objections are only time will tell. In spite of the handicap created by America's absence from its counsels, the League seems to be gaining in power and in the esteem and respect of the world.

Summary and Conclusions. With the progress of science and the growth of trade and industry, contacts between the peoples of the world have enormously increased. Contacts make conflict of interest possible, even inevitable. Conflicts in the past have been settled either by treaties arrived at through direct negotiation or by arbitration, or else by war. People are realizing that the method of making adjustments by means of treaties works badly, (1) because it is slow and cumbersome, (2) because the relations between two nations are not necessarily private, but may be of interest to the whole family of nations, and (3) because treaties are too inflexible in this rapidly changing world. People are also realizing that the method of making adjustments by means of war is not only barbarous, but futile. Questions wrongly settled by war may not stay settled. Might cannot make right.

The time-honored method of handling the conflicts between individuals or groups of individuals has been through organized government. It has been applied to larger and larger groups and it now needs to be applied to the world as a whole. The principal virtue of organized government applied to world relations is that it would provide a continuing agency not only to compose disputes as they arise, but also to anticipate them before they arise, and avert them.

The League of Nations is the first real attempt at a world government. Its greatest virtue is that it makes a beginning. It has not as yet achieved a full measure of success, due principally to the failure of the United States to join. Its opponents have offered no substitute which they claim would be better, and no amendments which they claim would improve it, except from our selfish national viewpoint. They simply retire from the contemplation of a problem which all thoughtful men know must be solved. The League or some organiza-

tion like it to solve the problems with which it is intended to cope, is inevitable.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

- ASHLEY, R. L., *The Practice of Citizenship*, Chap. XXIII.
Harvard Classics, Vol. 43, "Washington's Farewell Address,"
pp. 250-266, "The Monroe Doctrine," pp.
296-298.
- HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of American Democracy*, pp. 579-616.
- TAFT, WILLIAM H., *Papers on League of Nations, Government
of the League of Nations*, pp. 4-28.
- TUFTS, J. H., *The Real Business of Living*, Chaps. XLI-XLII.
- WARD, HARRY F., *The New Social Order*, Chap. IX.
- WELLS, H. G., *Outline of History*, Vol. II, Chap. XLI.
- YOUNG, J. T., *The New American Government and Its Work*,
Chap. XXIX.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Do the warlike nations survive?
2. Why are the forces which unite the peoples of the world growing stronger?
3. Do you subscribe to the slogan, "My country, may she always be right, but my country right or wrong"?
4. Do you think a world government modeled after our federal government feasible at this time?

CHAPTER XII

PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT

The need for government arises from human contacts. From the most savage to the most civilized people, wherever men are thrown into sufficiently close contact so that their relations require adjustment, some sort of government is always to be found. It is simple or complex as the contacts are few or numerous, the relations simple or involved, important or unimportant. Its first object is everywhere the same, to regulate human relationships.

Among savages and other primitive peoples, the rules of life governing their relations are embodied in their customs and traditions as developed and handed down from generation to generation. Among semi-civilized peoples, with the development of written language, well established customs and traditions take the form of written law on stone or parchment. While among civilized peoples, although human relations are still to a great extent regulated by customs and the laws embodying them, there exists the conscious belief that law may be made an important instrument of social progress, adequately regulating the affairs of men in the interest of all, generation living and generations yet to come.

In a simple and slowly changing society where human relationships are few and elementary in character the obligations of government are correspondingly small and uninvolved, its laws few and seldom altered, its machinery simple and easily operated. But in a rapidly progressing society such as ours, urged on as it is by the achievements of science and education, human relationships are not only numerous, but are constantly and rapidly changing. Government, therefore, if it is fully to perform its function, must be adapted and maintain its adaptations to the changing conditions of life. Revo-

lution is born of the failure to maintain the necessary adaptations. It is the natural offspring of a dynamic society and a static government.

The genius of modern democratic government is that it provides for orderly change without revolution. In a society such as ours, whose government is an institution created, operated, and controlled by the people for their general welfare, there can be small excuse for violent and disorderly change. In the last analysis under such a government, social progress depends upon the character, intelligence, and education of the people. Beyond what these will allow, society can go no farther, rise no higher, and achieve no more. Successful and enduring democratic government thus demands an educated and enlightened citizenry.

As society has progressed, the function of government has expanded, from the mere regulation of relations between individuals to the larger additional function of rendering specific services to society. In the early days of popular government, while people were still under the spell of their old fears of imposed authority, it was thought that that government was best which governed least. But as people have more and more realized their proprietorship in their government they have increasingly trusted it to perform those services which could best be performed by people acting together. These services have inevitably increased in number and complexity. With every new development, social or industrial, new or changed conditions arise demanding new or improved service on the part of government. The automobile and the motor transport, for example, have required better and smoother highways than served the purpose of the past, and have laid a new or additional burden of service on government, to provide them through its highway commissions specially created for the purpose, and to regulate them, through its laws passed by its legislatures and enforced by its executives and courts. If airplanes increase in number the government will have to regulate their operation by specifying construction, establishing lanes of flight and systems of signals in the interest of public safety, just as it has done in the case of navigation. The gov-

ernment already controls radio communication to a limited extent, and must extend its controls as conflicts arise with the further development of the industry. Science acknowledges no limits to the possibilities of human progress. With its unfolding in the future the services of government are certain to increase in number and in scope.

Service is peculiarly the objective of a democracy. The antithesis of democracy is autocracy, the fundamental theory of which is that the state and its government are supreme—that it is the duty of the citizen to obey and serve the state. The fundamental theory of democracy, on the other hand, that it is government of the people, for the people, and by the people, totally precludes this notion. In a democracy the people are supreme and the government is their creature and servant. It is merely the embodiment of the collective will, the machinery and method by which the people purpose to regulate their relationships with one another. While, therefore, it is the duty of the individual under such a government to submit to the collective will as the best method of working and living together in harmony, it is the duty of such a government to serve the general welfare. The obligation thus reacts upon the citizenry to see that their government (1) adequately expresses at all times the will of the whole people and not the will merely of designing or sinister groups within the body politic, (2) faithfully and efficiently performs the services assigned to it, and (3) undertakes such new tasks as the demands of progress and the popular will may impose.

The traditional functions of regulatory government are few in number—to preserve the peace, to regulate the ownership of property, to regulate trade, to administer justice, and to protect the lives of the people. It will be observed that these can be grouped under a single one, to promote the general welfare. What services, more than the present, should government undertake, to promote the general welfare? Should our government, for example, own and operate the railroads, the telegraph, the telephone, and the express services as is customarily done on the continent of Europe? The answer to such a question would depend on whether the government

can do these things to the satisfaction of the people and better than they are being done by other means; and also whether the public is sufficiently enlightened to decide such a question correctly and support a line of action wisely, when once decided upon. Government should undertake those services in the public interest which concern the general welfare, which can better be done by the people in their collective capacity than by any other agency, and which the general intelligence sanctions and supports.

But a high degree of public intelligence is absolutely necessary if a democratic government is successfully to perform the wide functions of service of which it is capable. For there are within every country large numbers of persons and powerful groups who see in government only a means toward their own selfish ends; who, by extensive control of publicity, corruption of public officials, bribery of courts, legislators, jurors, and administrators, seek to divert the stream of government service from the general welfare into private and selfish channels; and who in possession of so-called rights to exploit industry and the natural resources of the nation and to convert all sorts of social into private income, seek to prevent government from regulating their relationships in the interest of the general welfare. Our government is a democracy in form, but it is not altogether so in practice. There stands in the way of the progress of government and the solution of its problems, only public ignorance, and the only remedy for this is education. Education is, indeed, the only foundation of enduring free government. In the following discussions of the problems of government, the need of public intelligence must be understood as being an integral part of the problems themselves; for in the attempt to solve any of the great issues with which the American people are confronted, there always appears at the very outset the problem of the general public's ignorance of its merits and significance.

Government does not function in all of its undertakings as efficiently as it might. Most state and local units of government are poorly organized. The system was developed in a day which society has outgrown. In the executive branch,

especially, there is lacking responsibility, and the efficiency which goes with it; our legislatures are too often interested only in local legislation, and blind to the larger claims of the general welfare; and our courts, tied down by precedent and a cumbersome procedure, are too slow in the administration of justice.

In the national government, the unwieldy size of the House of Representatives is the chief bar to expeditious legislation, and the executive departments are in need of consolidation and reorganization. There is need of a clearer demarcation of the functions of the state and national governments to prevent duplication and usurpation of functions.

The successful operation of government depends upon adequate governmental machinery, and honest and capable public servants to operate it. Most attempts at reform have passed over the first requirement and concentrated on the second. Only in the case of municipal government, in the commission form and the city manager plan, has there been much attempt to change the fundamental forms of government in the interest of efficiency. On the other hand, the attempt to secure capable officials has been unceasing, but not altogether successful. The Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall, the direct primary, the short ballot, and the civil service are some of the devices being tried to secure competent officials, and they are good as far as they go, but until the public is ready to make some far-reaching changes in governmental organization, not much more improvement can be expected.

Most of the changes in governmental organization, as suggested by many students of political science, contain the central idea of the concentration of authority into the hands of responsible officials with proper safeguards thrown around them to preserve democratic control. But any moves in this direction cannot go faster than educated public opinion will sanction, and must not depart from the fundamental principles of democratic government.

Government does not perform all the services that it might perform well. Economists generally recognize two classes of commercial enterprise for the production of the goods that

satisfy the wants of people—competitive production and monopoly production. In the former and much wider field, experience has amply justified the accepted view that society is best served by granting the widest possible latitude for individual enterprise, subject only to such regulation as may be necessary.

The case of monopoly production is very different. Monopolies are socially created and should therefore be carefully and fully controlled in the social interest. Artificial monopoly is intolerable and prohibited by law; but natural monopolies, such as many forms of transportation, public service in gas, electricity, and water power, may be of great use to the general public if so regulated that society receives the benefit of the situation it creates. In fact, the public-service corporations in possession of natural monopolies are everywhere recognized as of peculiar public interest and subject to more thorough regulation than ordinary enterprises.

How far should public control over them be extended? Should they be (1) privately owned and privately operated; or (2) publicly owned and privately operated; or (3) publicly owned and publicly operated? All three methods in different cases and places have been tried, generally in the order named. When the first arrangement has failed, the public has moved on to the second, and so on. The first method is generally a failure because of public indifference, the great temptation to corruption of public officials, and the inadequate return of benefits to the public.

The second method is becoming the favorite one in the public mind. Ownership is retained by the public, and the rights to operate leased to private concerns on terms which fully safeguard the public interest. In the present state of public education on the subject, this would seem to be the best way, especially in the cases of widely scattered resources like coal and water power.

The third method is no doubt the most beneficial to the general public and is being successfully used, especially by many cities in owning and operating their own gas and electric-light plants and street-car systems. But the scheme is fraught

with many dangers. The public must be prepared to assume the risks as well as the benefits, the losses as well as the gains, and be able to organize and administer their government in such ways as to minimize the evil effects of corrupt politics, and secure a high degree of efficiency in the operation of the properties.

The social income is not justly distributed. If we should regard the American people as one great family, there is no one so bold who would say that the total product of all of our labors is equitably distributed on any basis which could be recognized as just. On every side, as it was two thousand years ago, we see those who "reap where they have not sown, and gather where they have not strawed." If true, this can only mean that others in small ways and large, sow and do not reap, strew and do not gather. It is hard to believe that many of the largest incomes are earned in the sense that the recipient confers benefits on society equivalent to them; and it is equally hard to believe, in this day when man has brought under his control so many other sources of energy besides human muscles, that the men who farm the farms and operate the machinery of the world do not earn a larger income than they receive.

There are some who say that incomes should be equal, and their arguments are interesting but not convincing. Others say that incomes should be distributed in proportion to needs; but who shall define needs or evaluate them? While the great mass of thoughtful people say that incomes should be distributed on the basis of the value to society of the individual's labors with hand or brain, even this, in the present state of human development, is and can be approximated only in the roughest way.

In fact, society is already doing much to equalize both opportunity and income. So-called free public education is an attempt to give to all the equal benefits of intellectual training; the graduated feature of the income tax is an admission of the principle that the burdens of government should be borne by those best able to bear them; the inheritance tax returns to society in an indirect way a portion of the wealth

unearned by the beneficiary; the single tax and the graduated land tax are designed to throw open greater opportunities for the individual ownership of land; and the tax on net incomes of corporations and on excess profits are calculated, in part, to return to society portions of income not earned.

The problem of the distribution of the social income is not easy, and one should be careful not to leap to any easy solution, for there does not appear to be one.

To have good government we must have good citizens. In any study of the problems of government, the question of citizenship is seen to be the central one. Without solving the problem of citizenship no progress can be made in the solution of the other problems of government. What constitutes a good citizen? From the point of view of his relations to government, two essentials are outstanding:

(1) A good citizen must be law-abiding. The government is his government, and the laws are his laws. Obedience to law is nothing more than the expression of a willingness to co-operate with others in furthering the well-being of all. Law is the legal expression of the will of the majority; and since democratic government is based upon majority rule, the violator of law strikes at the very foundation of democracy, and demonstrates his unworthiness of the blessings of liberty.

One may oppose the enactment of a foolish or a bad law, and he may fight for its repeal, but while it is in force no good citizen may disobey it. For in a democracy it is the majority who rule, and defiance of the will of the majority is denial of the fundamental principle of government by the people.

(2) A good citizen must know something of and be interested in his government and its politics. The enemies of good government are vigilant and aggressive, for they are actuated by selfish motives; while its friends, unless they realize that their highest interest is wrapped up in the welfare of all, are not likely to be as aggressive as they should. Against the claims of greed and selfishness, there stand the wider claims of the commonwealth, and its good citizens are its only defense and support.

The point of view of the good citizen is always the general

welfare. He is guided by principles, not parties; and by measures, not men.

Summary and Conclusions. The need for government arises out of the necessity for making peaceful adjustments between individuals and groups when conflicts of interest arise. Wherever there is conflict there is need for government from the smallest geographical unit up to and including the world as a whole. Government is simply society's way of handling conflicts.

Government has performed the function of regulation from the remotest times. It is only comparatively recently that it has assumed the additional function of service. Government should take over and perform those services which it can perform more efficiently than any other agency, and which receive the intelligent and understanding support of the public.

The problems of government mainly arise out of the failure of the government and the people to keep up with the rapidly changing times and make the necessary adaptations. Some outstanding problems are (1) certain defects in organization, (2) the question of what services should be performed by government, (3) the distribution of the social income, involving the conflict between capital and labor, (4) the question of the conservation of resources, discussed under a separate chapter, and (5) the question of the duties and obligations of citizenship.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

ASHLEY, R. L., *The Practice of Citizenship*, Chap. II.

BEARD and BEARD, *American Citizenship*, Chap. I.

BURCH and PATTERSON, *Problems of American Democracy*.

DOLE, C. F., *The New American Citizen*, Chaps. VI-IX, inclusive.

DUNN, A. W., *Community Civics for City Schools*, Chaps. I-IV, inclusive.

HAINES and HAINES, *Principles and Problems of Government*.

WARD, H. F., *The New Social Order*, Chap. II.

YOUNG, J. T. *The New American Government and Its Work*, pp. 17-21, inclusive, and pp. 684-710, inclusive.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Under what circumstances, if ever, would revolution be justified?
2. Name five specific services rendered by your State government.
3. Would the public ownership of water power be desirable? Is it at present feasible?
4. Why are democracies careful to provide public education?
5. What is meant by the statement that monopolies are socially created?
6. Give an example of an artificial monopoly. A natural monopoly.

CHAPTER XIII

HUMAN RELATIONS IN COMMUNITY LIFE

Every phase of social life and all kinds of social activities are present in the local community. The community is the first social group in size that approaches self-sufficiency. Individuals are never self-sufficient and institutions are never self-sufficient. Communities are not self-sufficient in the sense that they could build fences about themselves and never feel their isolation from the rest of the world. When we say they are self-sufficient, what we mean is that they have all the major social institutions—homes, schools, churches, industries, and governments—as a part of their social life, and that they have a sufficiently diverse set of people and interests to furnish all kinds of human relations and all kinds of social problems. Every need and want which is demanded for the sustenance of life must be supplied by the community or to the community. The problems of food supplies, the problems of health, the problems of education, the problems of morals, and every other kind of problem which arises out of human life and human associations are present in a local community. Furthermore, the solution to most of these problems is to be found in or constructed out of community co-operation.

In a local community people are just as dependent on one another or interdependent with one another as they are in a larger society. In some ways the interdependence of people in a local community is more clearly seen than in other relationships, and in some ways it is less easily seen. If there is a bad epidemic, a source of bad sanitation, or a definite immoral element in the community, all members of the community are much more likely to recognize it and be concerned about it than they are when such problems confront the state or nation. On the other hand, business and commercial relations are so

often matters of wider contacts than those furnished by the community that persons whose lives are dominated by business and commercial activities forget or fail to recognize their community relationships. Books, magazines, newspapers, and apt modes of transportation and communication are such perfect means of reaching people outside the local community that some persons who spend their lives absorbed in the atmosphere created by these things do not feel themselves to be very much a part of the community in which they physically reside. These people are members of the community and are dependent upon its schools, churches, stores, streets, water, sewer, and light systems, just as truly as if they recognize that fact. A person cannot escape from community life and live, unless he is willing to live like the lower animals.

The local community not only furnishes a person his physical environment, but supplies nearly all of his social environment. His motives, habits, and ambitions are conditioned and measured by the standards that exist in his local community. His character is made and tested in his home, neighborhood, and community. The neighborhood and community furnish the social atmosphere of all his institutions. It pours its influence into his life and he his life into it just as soon as he steps his foot out of his home. It furnishes him practically all his physical and social contacts and it is out of these that he manufactures not only his attainments, but his self and his personality.

Community life is universal and always has been. Man has never lived in solitude and does not any place in the world to-day live in solitude. He has always been a community animal. In primitive society his community may have included no one except his relatives or blood kinsmen. This was because, with no means of transportation and communication and little knowledge of how to convert the products of nature into usable goods, only a small group could be sustained within a given geographical area. Where the products of nature were scarce and scattered over wide areas, the kinship group lived in a central place and covered an extended area by the hunt and chase to gather their food and clothing supplies.

The American Indians, the modern Tibetans, and the Russians who live on the western Siberian plains are examples of this type of community life. They range over wide areas, but live in consolidated groups for the sake of protection, for the advantages of division of labor within the group, and for social intercourse. With the growth of knowledge in production and the increase in trade and commerce the groups became larger, more diverse, and in some ways more independent in individual occupations though more interdependent as members of a group.

Now that the whole world is organized for economic and social endeavor on the basis of a division of labor between institutions, a community must be large enough to provide a full set of these institutions or it is not even as self-sufficient as the old kinship group was. Education, religion, government, industry, and even recreation are institutionalized outside the household. This fact, while a great gain in social efficiency, makes it necessary for every citizen to be a member of some definite community in order to participate in the functions which these institutions perform. Life is a unity, not capable of being separated into institutionalized functions. There must, therefore, be some unit of association which can supply all of its needs—food, clothing, shelter, health, education, religion, recreation, and friends. This association is the community.

Community life consists of organized teamwork for the sake of supplying the needs and desires of its members. As is the case with a football team, where every member must do a different thing from all the others on every play but all their activities combined make up the team play, so in community life there are many divisions of labor, but all are toward the common end of sustaining life and supplying its many needs. The elements that constitute a community are its people, the geographic area in which they live, the agencies which serve their needs, and a common purpose in life. The factors which weld them into a common life are their customs, public opinion, institutions and law. These things keep them in step, serve their common needs, and make out of their diversities a

group. While the reign of law is more apparent in the local community than in the state or nation, it is chiefly the subtler forms of social contact such as customs, morals, public opinion, and common aims that hold sway in neighborhoods and communities. This is only the other side of the fact that it is in the local community that one picks up his morals and aims of life.

There are many kinds of communities, and while each has a life of its own, all are similar in the services which they perform for their members. There are city communities and rural communities; there are immigrant communities of all kinds, industrial communities, and even educational communities and political communities. But in all these communities the common needs of human life exist. The urban community is different from the rural community in its occupations and in its concentration of population. A given immigrant community is different in its language and customs from a community made up of the native born or from a community of people of another nationality. The industrial community is organized around one or a few factories and so has its peculiar hours of work and leisure. An educational community centers around a college or university and is usually much concerned about these institutions. A political community centers around a state or national capital and so is made up of political officials and their families.

The peculiar characteristics of each of these different types of community differentiate it from all others, but do not remove the necessity of each community's supplying all the needs of its members. The rural community must have its stores or village to supply those things which are not produced within it. The urban community must have the same. The various immigrant communities and all communities made up of native born must supply the same physical needs of their people. The educational community must have a full set of other social institutions as well as the college or university. And the political community cannot live on the legislation or administration of laws. Every community must have physical

facilities and social teamwork in order that people may live in it efficiently and wholesomely.

Within each community there are usually a number of neighborhoods. A neighborhood is merely a group of people who have face-to-face acquaintance with one another. Practically all neighborhood associations are spontaneous rather than planned or institutionalized. Children play together, older people visit with one another, and all the families of the neighborhood may be on the same telephone line. Neighborhoods are not large enough to support schools, governments, and industries of their own. Their functions and contributions lie not in being self-sufficient, but in furnishing those subtler human associations which are based upon an acquaintance with personalities. Their place in our common community, state, and national life will be made clear later. Suffice it to observe here that many of their practices of neighborliness and mutual regard need to be utilized in our larger social relationships.

A community's organization and ideals condition the lives and purposes of all persons who live in it. A community organized to serve the needs of its members must have, in addition to its homes, the following major social institutions—schools, churches, law, and government—and business or industrial institutions. It must have health agencies, public relief and charity agencies, recreational agencies, and often improvement agencies of various kinds. It should also have public libraries, art galleries, zoölogical gardens, museums, and public parks. Some of these are absolute necessities and all are desirable. Community life is adequate to the extent that the community furnishes these things to its members and is inadequate to the degree that these things are lacking. In addition to the physical and social agencies, the community must have a solicitude for orderliness, moral and ethical practices, and economic and social well-being. In fact, it is the presence of these latter things which furnishes the motives for establishing and maintaining the many institutions and agencies of community life.

So long as persons and families lived in vast open places,

isolated from others, it made little difference to one family whether the wells of other families were polluted, or the milk supply of other families was unsanitary, whether others kept their premises untidy, or even whether other families were sick. When persons congregated into cities, their families at first sought to live according to their own individualistic ways and standards. It was immediately discovered, however, that the disease of one family could start an epidemic, the sanitation of one family could be not only a nuisance but a menace to the health of others, and even its untidy premises could be an eyesore to the whole neighborhood. It was also quickly discovered that it was practicable to have municipal water and sewer systems. It was found undesirable to have cows, hogs, and chickens in city places, which meant that the community must depend upon outside sources for its milk and meat supply. All these things gave the members of the community a common interest in their public services and in the common sources of their physical necessities. Community action was recognized as a necessity because it became clear that a community life was being lived by all.

There are many communities in America to-day that are communities in fact but not in spirit. The members of these communities influence one another in all ways that have been described, but they are not cognizant of this fact or else live in disregard of it. It is in such communities that the death and sickness rates are high, that illiteracy prevails, slums exist, and often crime breeds. Such communities have not yet learned the fundamental art of life, which is the art of living together. They have not learned teamwork because each person thinks he is playing a game of his own. They accept and support the community institutions, which have grown up gradually throughout the world, as natural parts of their social life; they pay their taxes, usually unwillingly, to support the units of government of which they are a part; and they support the church to a greater or less extent because of their traditional belief in its spiritual values. But the newer things which have arisen as results of the density of population, the intensity of industrial life and the development of economic

and social interdependence which have come with trade and commerce, they have yet failed to recognize as parts of their day-by-day life. They, therefore, do not plan for these things or control them in such directions as to eliminate their dangers or utilize their benefits.

The average American citizen thinks of life and life's needs as being supplied at one end by the individual and at the other by the government. But the individual cannot supply all his needs and the units of government are organized on geographical bases which do not conform to the natural social groupings of the population. It is, therefore, necessary for the communities, which stand midway between the individual and the government, to have programs and activities of their own. Woodrow Wilson said: "The very definition of the community is a body of men who have things in common, who are conscious that they have things in common. A community is unthinkable, unless you have a vital inter-relationship of parts. There must be such a contract as will constitute union itself before you will have the true course of the wholesome blood through the body." At another time he said that an efficient democracy depends upon the efficient community life of the thousands of local communities in the nation.

Community action is the responsibility and privilege of every citizen. Very few people have an opportunity to consciously wield any influence outside their local communities. This is not a tragedy, for practically all problems of life arise out of and are settled by local communities. People carry on their occupations and professions in a definite, single locality. They are ill or healthy in local community hospitals or homes. They travel largely on local streets or roads within the community, which are usually furnished by the community.

Every community should have a plan and a program. Its plan should organize the physical groundwork for its program of activities, for upon its geography and physiography depend its streets, parks, and public buildings as well as the location of all private enterprises and residences. Its social program should provide for all the social, mental, moral, and æsthetic needs of its people by setting up agencies and institutions

which can supply them, or by so correlating existing agencies as to be sure that they furnish them.

It is only recently that definite movements have started all over America for promoting community planning and community activities. The reason we have not had such movements earlier is because we have been so dominantly a rural people and because we have so thoroughly worshiped individualistic ideals. Rural people until recently have lived on fairly self-sufficient farm units. Their neighborhoods have served as communities and their mode of life has been so simple that they did not consciously feel the need of social agencies. The spirit of individualism has led us to believe that each individual, if worthy, could and would supply his own needs. The growth of industrialism, which brought with it great city populations, living in congested slum areas, made us cognizant of a need for community action. The development of community agencies and programs, with their valuable services, has led to a desire for their establishment in all communities of the nation.

People receive fire and police protection from their local communities. They get their recreation, education, and religion from local agencies and institutions. The government with which they are mostly concerned is local government. Children are reared in local communities and most people live and die in the same community in which they were born. What each individual receives by way of opportunity depends upon his community and what contribution he makes depends upon what he does among the people with whom he is best acquainted.

Practically all activity in direct service to the community demands teamwork. In the pioneer days teamwork was quite universal in local neighborhoods. Any task which was too great for an individual or family to perform was participated in by the neighbors. In case of sickness or accident, co-operation and help were contributed gladly. Community action was easy because it was carried on on the basis of brotherhood and neighborliness. With the specialization and professionalization of tasks and the institutionalization of functions it is

sometimes difficult to see how each person is a part of the lives of others. As a matter of fact, just because of these things, group action is often, if not always, more necessary than under the old conditions. Co-operation and community action need not only to become a habit, but need to be so systematized that everyone will recognize them as a definite part of every-day life.

The growing recognition of the place of the community in our civic life has led to the development of a number of types of community organizations. The development of such organizations, while necessary, is not easy. The established institutions of the community, particularly churches, schools, and industries, have felt the need for agencies of health, recreation, and charity, and in many cases have established them as a part of the institutional program of the community. Schools have clinics, health programs, recreation and entertainment facilities and programs. Institutional churches have expanded their activities to include practically every function except government and industry. They even sometimes conduct employment agencies. Industries have established health and recreation services for their employees. These have all been good, but they have two weaknesses which could be obviated if these services were conducted on a community-wide or at least neighborhood basis. First, they seldom if ever reach all classes and persons of the community. Second, they often duplicate one another and sometimes come into conflict with one another. The community is an association of people which includes all of these institutions and is therefore in a position to correlate all their activities and make universal all their services.

Professor Lindeman says that "community organization is that phase of social organization which constitutes a conscious effort on the part of a community to control its affairs democratically, and to secure the highest service from its specialists, organizations, agencies, and institutions by means of recognized inter-relation." In this definition are stated practically all the principles which, if followed, will furnish the services which the local community needs but is not now

having assured it. These principles furnish a basis for all institutions now in the community to serve in larger ways, and eliminate all duplication between them. Under such a program there would be no attempt to set up agencies with no leaders or specialists to insure their existence and sure functioning. Such a program would not depend upon people's joining another association or club, for most of them would already be members of the existing agencies and institutions. They would utilize each institution to its fullest capacity and call upon it to serve the community rather than to try to build up its own selfish institutional life and organization. They would call upon all members of the community to support its established institutions and agencies and work through them. These principles could be made to apply to all communities, rural and urban, industrial, educational, or political. For most of their communities already have a large gamut of established institutions and agencies. If one community does not have as many institutions as another, it can use those which it has for a wider range of service, or, if need be, establish new ones.

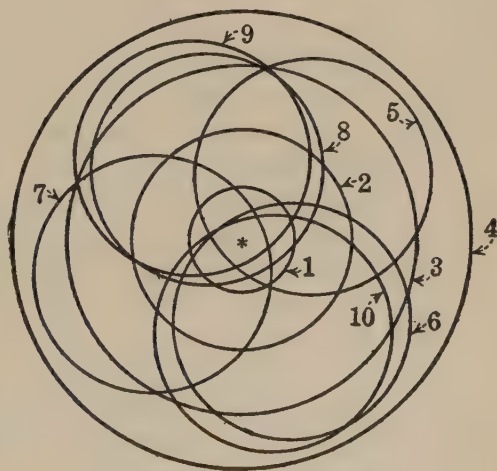
A few years ago the city of Springfield, Illinois, made a survey of its whole community life. Mr. Shelby Harrison wrote a pamphlet entitled, "Community Action through the Survey," as a part of the report of that survey. The thing he reported was that by the process of the services which its various agencies, organizations, and institutions were rendering and a discovering of the needs of its people, the community of Springfield had become conscious of its various needs and started immediately to provide for supplying them. Every community in America needs to do the same thing. Few of them are conscious of their common life and its problems. Few of them even know of the services which their local agencies and institutions are performing. Fewer yet are cognizant of the things which need yet to be done to make community life adequate. It is just as much the part of good citizenship to understand the interdependence of community life as it is to be nationally patriotic; to support local community agencies and institutions as it is to support the family or the govern-

ment; and to provide for community betterment and progress as it is to provide for individual enlightenment and personal advancement.

The community is a training school for citizenship. Good citizenship is the art of living in and promoting civilization. Civilization is far more a matter of social relationships than it is a matter of relations to the physical environment. Each individual is a member of numerous groups of people. The following diagram shows how many group opportunities and group responsibilities an individual may participate in the community where he lives.

*The individual

- 1—The family group
- 2—The neighborhood group
- 3—The community group
- 4—Governmental group
- 5—Business group
- 6—Religious group
- 7—Educational groups
- 8—Recreational groups
- 9—Fraternal groups
- 10—Welfare or relief association.



From the graph, the statement that even local community life is complex ought to become clear in meaning. If a person will participate actively and wholeheartedly in the program of the various groups of which he may be a member he will develop an interest in and technique for performing his part in all civic relations. People learn by doing, and the crying need for better citizenship requires a livelier participation in all things which must be done by group action in a democracy.

We have too long thought of politics in government as something outside our daily lives. We are now coming to

recognize that every need and condition of life is a matter of civic concern. We ought thoroughly to recognize that most of these things are supplied and most of these conditions set by local community life. As Miss Follett says, "Whether we want the exhilaration of a fuller life or whether we want to find the unities which will make for peace and order, for justice and for righteousness, it would be wise to turn back to neighborhood groups and there begin the *a b c* of a constructive brotherhood of man. Neighborhood organization gives us the best opportunity we have yet discovered of finding underneath all our differences, the real bond between them—of living the consciously creative life." It is difficult to see how one can be a good citizen of a state or nation if he does not learn how to be a good citizen of his neighborhood or community by participating actively in their undertakings.

Not numbers of people, or even numbers of agencies and institutions, make a neighborhood or community, but the consciousness and activities of group life. People need to learn the problems, engage in the deliberations, and accept a full share of the responsibilities of neighborhood or community life if they would guarantee its efficiency and learn in it the ways of democratic citizenship. The good citizen is not he who merely obeys the law, but he who participates actively in community life. In such participation he develops a knowledge and appreciation of civic problems; uncovers his own latent capacity for leadership and co-operation; and out of the clash of ideas develops a capacity to really think, and learns to live democracy as well as believe in it.

We have lost the close personal relations of earlier community life in the isolation of our long period of pioneering and because of the many impersonal relations of our industrialized and institutionalized life. We need to, and now are striving to regain those personal relationships without a sense of which a democracy will find it difficult to continue. Our greatest opportunities lie in living and acting co-operatively in our families and neighborhoods and in extending their ways of life to all human relationships.

Summary and Conclusions. Communities are those geo-

graphic areas in which are located a full set of social institutions and service agencies to supply satisfactions for all the needs and desires of the persons who live within their areas. Because of the division of labor and the specialization of life's activities into occupations and professions, it is necessary to have some unit of association which will synthesize and if possible fraternalize all these specialized activities. The community is the association of persons that attempts to perform this function.

In order to be efficient in its tasks it is necessary that each community be conscious of its integral existence and that it have organizations and a program for carrying on its community relationships.

Neighborhoods, which were at one time the universal areas of association for performing those functions which could not be performed in the home, are fast disappearing in American social life. Communities must, to a great extent, supersede them. This means that everyone must become concerned with the activities and programs of the community. So many human relations are inherent in community life that it is a part of the every-day life of all people.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

- ASHLEY, R. L., *The Practice of Citizenship*, Chap. I.
 BURCH and PATTERSON, *Problems of American Democracy*,
 Chaps. II and III.
 DANIEL, J., *America via the Neighborhood*, Chaps. II and III.
 DUNN, A. W., *Community Civics and Rural Life*, Chap. I.
 FOLLETTE, M. P., *The New State*, Chaps. XXII and XXVII.
 LINDEMAN, E. C., *The Community*, Chaps. X and XI.
 STEINER, J. F., *Community Organization*, Chaps. I and XXIII.

Questions for Discussion:

1. If you were to count the number of times you meet persons not members of your family, what proportion of your contacts would you discover to be with the members of your local community?
2. Can you cite examples in your local community where some

human need is not being met because it is not clear what agency or institution should supply it?

3. Who is the chief citizen and leader in your community? Why?
4. What is the difference between your own local neighborhood community and some other community with which you are acquainted?
5. Name the services which your home community supplies which you could not supply yourself.
6. Try to describe the life of the man who does not live in a community.
7. Why do people so often fail to participate in the activities of their communities?
8. Outline a scheme of community organization which will serve all the legitimate needs and desires of the members of a normal community.

CHAPTER XIV

HUMAN RELATIONS IN CITY COMMUNITIES

Great cities are new in civilization. Our great modern cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago are products of the industrial revolution. Previous to the coming of the factory system of production it is doubtful whether any city ever contained a population of a million people. Now there are over fifteen cities in the world with over a million inhabitants living within their corporate limits. The ancient cities like Troy, Thebes, Alexandria, Nineveh, Babylon, Athens, and Rome were places where people resided chiefly for protection. The mediæval cities were largely trade centers. The modern city is a distributing and refining center. Its growth has resulted from the fact that with the growth of manufacturing and the development of apt means of transportation, the production of refined goods has increased relatively much more rapidly than the production of raw goods.

To-day practically all refining processes are carried on in cities. The spinning, weaving, smithing, canning, sewing, foundering, and dozens of other manufacturing processes which were at one time carried on in rural homes are now carried on in factories. The factories are practically all in the cities. Even much of the baking and laundering is now done in cities and villages. In addition to having taken over practically all the refining or remaking of the fundamental necessities which at one time was done in rural homes, city factories manufacture thousands of conveniences and luxuries which have been added to our standards of living in recent times. Practically all new consumption goods which have been added to society's standard of living in the last one hundred years are products of factories.

The growth in trade and commerce, now carried on between

people far removed from one another, has made necessary the development of trade or distributing centers. A man now eighty years of age can easily remember the time when people living in rural districts sold very little of what they raised and bought very little of what they used. Farmers a century ago produced chiefly for home use. To-day they produce largely for the market and purchase a large portion of their standard of living in the market. Nearly all the products they buy or sell pass through cities. Almost 18 per cent of our gainfully employed population is engaged in trade and transportation and practically all of these people live in cities. More than 30 per cent of our gainfully employed are engaged in mechanical and manufacturing pursuits, and most of them live in cities. Less than 27 per cent of the gainfully employed members of our national population are engaged in farming, and all others gainfully employed work at city occupations.

There is little probability that the growth of cities will diminish. There is no limit to the possible production of refined goods and the utilities of trade are becoming greater all the time. Refining and trade are the two great economic functions performed by cities. There is a limit to the amount of corn, wheat, or cotton which the population can consume, but there is no limit to the amount of jewelry, spring hats, neckties, and other luxuries which people can use. The country produces raw goods and the city produces refined goods. So long, therefore, as civilizations are capable of producing economic surpluses, the functions of the city will continue to increase in relation to those of the country and the populations of cities will increase more rapidly than those of the open country.

In 1800 there were only five cities in the United States with populations of more than ten thousand people. These cities contained less than 4 per cent of the national population at that time. In 1920, cities of this size or larger contained 42.4 per cent of all the people living in the United States. According to the 1920 census report, which classifies incorporated places of twenty-five hundred population and less as rural, 51.4 per cent of our people live in urban places. If we include those

small incorporated places which are really urban in function, we find that 59.9 per cent of all the people of the United States are living in cities or villages. There are four states in the United States, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, whose urban populations are more than 75 per cent of their total population. Rhode Island and Massachusetts combined have over 95 per cent of all their population living in cities. There are almost twice as many people living in New York to-day as there were in the whole United States, not including the Indians, when Washington was elected president. Almost one-seventh of all the people of the nation live in eight great cities—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Boston, and Baltimore. H. G. Wells in his *Anticipations*, suggests that the time will come when the population of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago will exceed forty million.

City life develops many problems that are new in the social life of the world. Great populations living in restricted areas are in themselves new phenomena. City populations are nearly always heterogeneous. Many of the people of great cities are foreign born. City occupations demand a large proportion of people of middle age, and an excessive number of females. The city is a place of rapid change. It is in many ways an artificial environment. Some of the results of these things are nuisances, insanitation, ill health, bad housing, traffic congestion, crime, poverty, and in some cases physical and moral degeneracy. There are also the problems of low wages and long working hours, due to great competition for positions and the presence of a foreign population. The problem of regulating industries, the increase in land values, and many other things make necessary a régime of compulsory co-operation or a reign of law.

The per cent of females in the total population of the United States is 47.7. For the cities it is 49.9 per cent. Practically all of the women who are classified as gainfully employed work in cities. Certain types of manufacturing use women laborers almost exclusively and the city uses thousands of women in domestic and clerical positions.

In 1920, 31.8 per cent of the total population of the United States were under fifteen years of age, 40.7 per cent were between the age of fourteen and forty-five years, and 27.5 per cent were over sixty-five years of age. The urban population percentages at this time were 20.2 under fifteen years of age, 59.1 between the ages of fourteen and forty-five and 20.7 over forty-five years of age. From these facts it will be seen that the city population is abnormal in its constituency. All society is built upon an almost equal balance between the sexes. If there are any great differences between the number of men and women, it leaves many people to be cared for in boarding-houses and hotels, makes it necessary to provide recreation, health, and other facilities outside homes, and, as would seem to be the case in Europe, where great numbers of males were killed during the Great War, leads to the breakdown of the fundamental sex morals of the whole group. The large proportion of middle-aged persons in the urban population gives it virility, but also makes it a society of change and often strife.

The great cities of the United States have over twice as many foreign born in their population as the United States as a whole has. There are fourteen cities in the United States with more than a hundred thousand foreign born in their populations. New York has more Jews than ancient Palestine ever had, more Germans than Hamburg has, and twice as many Irish as Dublin has. Over 78 per cent of the total population of that city is foreign born or children of foreign born parents. In Chicago these two elements constitute 77 per cent, in Cleveland 74.8 per cent, in Boston 74.2 per cent, and in Philadelphia 56.8 per cent.

The great number of immigrants build foreign sections with low standards of living, un-American customs, and sometimes come near to the establishment of foreign cities within American cities.

There are two social problems of city life which are unique in that their magnitudes and menaces are great and yet their solutions are easy. These problems are health and housing.

The death rates of cities have always been higher than those for other areas. Up until and including 1900 the death rates of large cities were continuously about 20 per 1,000 population per year. In some of the slum areas one child out of every three died before it was one year old and in some cases not more than one-half of them lived to be five years of age. In contagious and infectious diseases the death rate often ran twice as high as it did in rural districts. The degree to which cities are solving these problems is indicated by the facts set forth in the following table.

URBAN AND RURAL DEATH RATES FOR REGISTRATION AREA OF THE UNITED STATES.

	1901 to 1905	1906 to 1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1920
Urban.....	17.4	16.3	15.1	14.7	15.0	14.5	14.1
Rural.....	14.1	13.4	12.7	12.4	12.7	12.3	11.9

The cities not only have been reducing their death rates rapidly, but have reduced them more rapidly than the rural districts have. Their infant death rates have been reduced more than 50 per cent in the last two decades. This reduction has been accomplished almost universally by community action, through schools, inspection of residences, markets, and other public service agencies, and by the establishment of public clinics, public nurses, and municipal health departments. Probably no other phase of city life better demonstrates the necessity and the capacity of a community to control its conditions of life than the health and sickness experiences of cities.

The housing problem is of almost as great magnitude as that of health. Because bad houses are owned by persons who consider them private business enterprises, the housing problem has not been attacked in the vigorous or successful fashion that the health problem has. As a matter of fact, bad housing lies back of practically all bad health. Old and crowded houses are necessarily unsanitary and are generally "fire traps."

Their overcrowded condition is conducive to bad health and immorality.

Allen says, "With a chart showing what districts have the greatest number of children and adults suffering from measles, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, consumption, one can go within his own city or a strange city and in a surprisingly short time locate the nuisances, the dangerous buildings, the open sewers, the cesspools, the houses without bathing facilities, the dark rooms, the narrow streets, the houses without play space and breathing space, the districts without parks, the polluted water sources, etc." In other words, bad health, due to bad housing, is a product of the slum.

Cities are now attacking their housing problem. New York City is employing a staff of over seven hundred persons in her Tenement House Department and spending almost \$1,000,000 each year in inspecting and regulating her housing. Between the years 1909 and 1914 the number of dark rooms in Brooklyn were reduced from 192,573 to 8,016, and the number of windowless rooms reduced from 60,000 to 500. It is calculated that the accomplishments of the Tenement House Department have saved 20,000 lives per year. In London whole slum districts have been wrecked and model tenements constructed on the spaces. In 1913 the National Housing Association reported that 177 cities in the United States were then definitely attacking their housing problems.

The only outstanding large municipal civic program comparable to those of health and housing is recreation. In 1890 there was but one playground in the United States and one public swimming bath. Now practically every large and middle-sized city of the nation and many small towns have playgrounds and recreation centers. The recreation places include big parks, like Lincoln Park in Chicago and Bronx Park in New York, small parks or playgrounds of which Chicago has twenty-six, numerous bathing beaches, municipal golf courses, tennis and baseball fields, municipal operas, dance halls, picture shows, skating rinks, and dozens of others. In Chicago a decrease of almost 50 per cent in the number of crimes committed by children has taken place in the areas

where playgrounds have been located. The Playground Association of America reports that almost 4,000 playgrounds, costing over \$10,000,000 per year for maintenance, are now in operation in over 500 American cities. The health, housing, and recreation movements of cities are indices of the cities' growing consciousness of their common civic life.

The causes of the growth of cities are economic and psychologic. City occupations and industries regularly outbid farming for man power and money power. People seem to be more willing and more anxious to pay for the products of the city than they are for those of the country. A universal knowledge that these things are true has done much to give city population, city standards of living, and city culture a dominant position in the thinking and ambition of people. Categorically the economic causes for the urbanization of society are, (1) the factory system of production, which moved practically all refining and fabricating processes out of the homes; (2) the growth or development of transportation, which made it possible to concentrate manufacturing at points of power and build cities as great world distributing agencies; (3) the capacity of modern production to develop surplus wealth with which people can purchase a greater amount of refined goods and luxuries, practically all of which are manufactured in cities; (4) improved farm machinery which has made it possible to produce a larger amount of raw products with less man power and thus has released people for the occupation of farming; (5) higher wages in city occupations than in rural centers; (6) shorter and more regular hours in city occupations than in rural occupations; (7) the increase in governmental officials and employees, all of whom live in cities.

The psychologic and social causes for the relative as well as actual increase in city population are all based upon a belief that urban life is to be preferred to rural life. There is to-day a universal knowledge of the difference between urban and rural conditions of life. The drift to the cities, whether good or bad, is indicative of a belief that the greater economic and social opportunities of life lie in the city. Thousands of those

who leave the rural areas to enter city occupations later find themselves living under miserable conditions, find that high monetary wages do not always purchase a better life than in the country, and that short hours as a cog in a great industrial machine are no better than long hours in the open air. Nevertheless, modern industry and business have opened up great business opportunities and developed great fortunes. These facts have become universally known. The fact that not all people of the city participate in these opportunities and fortunes is not so well known. The result is that economic opportunity invites population to the city. Even if it did not, the multiplied amusements, bright lights, street cars, sidewalks, and clean clothes of the city, as contrasted with conditions of rural life, would cause many to choose city life.

A study of 1,470 families and unmarried individuals who have moved to cities and towns in eleven mid-Western and Southern states reveals the facts that 524, or 35.7 per cent, of them left the country for the city to participate in what they expected to be greater economic opportunities than were afforded by farming; 396, or 26.9 per cent, went to avail themselves or their children of better educational advantages; 232, or 15.7 per cent, went because they had become too old to farm or had accumulated sufficient wealth to retire from active work; and 226, or 10.5 per cent, went to participate in livelier and better organized social life. This body of facts, while not large, is probably representative, and indicates that there is taking place an urbanization of our ideals and ambitions as well as of our population.

City life contains the extremes of the good and the bad in society. The city is a place of contrasts. There are more crimes committed there, and yet the great churches and centers of ethical teachings are there. The greatest poverty is there, and yet the greatest riches are there. The greatest illiteracy is there, yet the great institutions of learning are there. The ugliest and most insanitary areas are there, yet the great pieces of art and architecture and the great health centers are there. The overcrowding of one- and two-room houses and apartments is there and the great palatial man-

sions are there. These are not solely items of cause and effect one of the other, but are due to the fact that cities have grown very rapidly and nothing like their great population and diversity of interests was ever known before. Because of this their life and conditions have grown without guidance or without social control.

In the state of Arizona there are but seven-tenths persons per square mile. In the Tenth Ward in New York City there are 626.2 people per acre, or an average of 400,768 per square mile. Such congested conditions present cities with housing problems never before known. People living in such congestion are what constitute slums, with their ill health and immorality of all kinds. In the city of Berlin it was found that the death rate was 50 per cent higher among families living in houses of three rooms than among families living in houses of four rooms, that it was 400 per cent higher in two-room houses and 3,270 per cent higher in one-room houses than in houses of four rooms. Lack of family privacy, promiscuous immorality, contagious diseases, and crime are all a part of such congestion.

The death rate, the suicide rate, the insanity rate, poverty, crime, divorce, and illegitimacy are all higher in the city than in the country. The insanity rate for the United States is 1,700 per million, but it is 2,429 per million in cities of 200,000 population or more. In 1916 the suicide rate for registration cities was 17.2 per 100,000, but only 11 per 100,000 in rural districts. The illegitimacy rate is from twice to three times as high in cities as in the open country. As high as 20 per cent of some city populations fall below the poverty line during periods of depression.

Corruption and graft are prevalent in great cities because of the complexity of human relations there and because of the great number of foreigners and ignorant people who help to constitute city populations.

The problems of cities demand that their physical structure be definitely planned and their common life closely regulated. The transfer from agricultural and handicraft production to factory production has taken place so quickly and trade and

commerce have developed so rapidly that it has been impossible to predict the growth of cities. The result has been that both physical and social conditions of city life have thrust themselves upon us, as it were, overnight. Chicago eighty years ago was only a small fort, St. Louis only a fur-trading center, and Kansas City not even in existence. Some fairly large cities were in existence in the World when America was discovered and settled, but no one dreamed that any city would ever contain a million inhabitants, much less that an American city would. Nevertheless, our cities were planned from the beginning. Philadelphia was laid out by William Penn like a checker-board and practically every town in the United States has followed that physical scheme of organization.

City planning is the application to the city of the same process of order and forethought which we habitually apply to individual building. A city is compact enough in its organization to make this possible. When old buildings become unusable or a menace we tear them down or remodel them. The whole life of a city is so definitely an entity that it must be looked upon and planned as a unit. Napoleon III employed an architect and remodeled Paris at a cost of \$265,000,000. He definitely planned it for 700,000 inhabitants. It has to-day more than four times that population. Some other great European cities have been definitely planned, Budapest, Vienna, and Petrograd. Washington, D. C., was planned in 1790. It only partially followed its plan, but is now attempting to recover the ground it lost by neglect. Thousands of cities and small towns of America now have planning commissions or boards of one kind or another whose functions are to see that cities no longer grow in the direction of monstrosities.

The main elements in the physical plan of a city are: (1) city entrances—railroads, wagon and auto roads, and water fronts; (2) open spaces—parks, boulevards, and parkways; (3) streets and alleys; (4) civic and social centers; and (5) building sites. The facilities for transportation to and from a city are the very bases of its life, for it is a distributing center and a manufacturing center. Its streets are the arteries of its

life. It has certain public buildings and many private buildings, which, unless located so as to serve the entire city population, cannot aptly perform their functions. If these things are not planned and provided for wisely, the result will be, as it is in hundreds of cases, to a large degree, chaos in city life.

The planned utilization of land space is essential in city planning. Each city of any considerable size has four chief uses for its land: (1) streets, sidewalks, and alleys; (2) industrial or manufacturing uses; (3) retail and wholesale uses; and (4) residential uses. In the city of Chicago, 22 per cent of the ground space of the city is given over to streets and alleys. In some streets, or at some street junctions, there are located on the same street, railroads, surface cars, elevated cars, sidewalks, and driveways. On each of these there may be traffic going in two directions at the same time. In New York City and Boston the subways are in addition to these.

Generally about two-thirds of the ground space of a city is used for residential purposes. From 10 per cent to 15 per cent of the ground space is used for the purpose of carrying on the refining and distributing processes. If any one of the demands for the physical space of a city is not provided for or if one of them is allowed to encroach upon others, there result maladjustments of various kinds. An example of such maladjustments are the slums of cities which are located in areas which were one time exclusively residential, but which have been encroached upon by manufacturing.

The social bases of city planning are: (1) a definite recognition and appreciation of the city's organic unity; (2) the knowledge that physical deterioration will follow unless congestion is forestalled; (3) that city planning will cost less in the long run than it will cost to allow maladjustments to arise; and (4) that the people who live in cities are more important than its two great economic functions.

Some of the chief things which city planning, both physical and social, has accomplished have been: (1) The guidance of the growth of the whole city. Cities have been districted and areas set aside for each of the uses to which space can be put. (2) Regulation of buildings. Their height and the type of

materials out of which they might be constructed and the amount of the lot that might be covered with them have been prescribed. (3) Areas have been set aside for public use, such as public buildings, parks and playgrounds.

City life is the test of our democracy. So long as nearly all of the people of the United States were living in the great open spaces of the country or in small village communities, the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity were easy to hold as abstracted creeds. Now that almost two-thirds of our people are living in crowded cities, we are putting these ideals to the test of practicability. In city life it is impossible for a person to be a law unto himself. He buys his food and clothing from others. In the great majority of cases he lives in a house or apartment that some one else owns. He must use the public utilities, such as light, water, sewer, and street systems. His health and sanitary practices influence others. He is more immediately and definitely a part of the group life than even primitive man was a part of his kinship group.

In contrast to the actual interdependence of all people who live in cities is the easy opportunity for irresponsibility. Living in an apartment house which one does not own, with neighbors whom one does not know, and lost in a population of a million people, one finds it easy to escape responsibility. It is the opportunity to lose one's self in the diverse interests and great populations that makes crime and immorality easy. It is these same facts that make mutual helpfulness and deep sympathy difficult.

The conglomerate population of a great city tests the capacity of a people for group action. Great foreign populations, wide chasms between social and economic classes, the necessary reign of law, and the easy irresponsibility just mentioned have led to what Mr. Lincoln Steffens called "the shame of the cities." Boss rule is made easy because people fail to govern themselves or even be concerned about one another or their government.

The coming together of thousands of children into the public schools, onto the playgrounds, and on the city streets, tends to have a lifelong effect on all. The question is whether

the better classes will withdraw their children from these places or whether they will accept the responsibility of seeing that these institutions are provided and so wisely managed as to be good for all.

The city is the most complete laboratory for the study of the actual facts of human life and human relations that the world has ever known. The mixture of races is here in the extreme. The problems of handling great populations are here. All the relations of the sexes are here. The co-operation of institutional life is tested and the conflict between institutions is seen. The results of the unequal distribution of wealth are apparent. Crime and reformation, poverty and its prevention, are problems of cities. The guidance of the growth and forms of social institutions is possible. The concrete working of the social environment is proven. Methods of governmental administration and forms of government are easily tested. As Frederick C. Howe says, "The modern city marks a new epoch in our civilization. Through it a new society has been created. Man has entered an urban age. He has become a commercial being.

"The humanizing forces of to-day are almost all proceeding from the city. They are creating a new moral sense, a new conception of the obligations of political life, obligations which, in earlier conditions of society, did not and could not exist. Step by step individual rights have been merged into larger social ones. And it is this very increase in public activities that renders the city as attractive to the rich as it is to the poor. In earlier days, even the most elementary public functions were performed by the individual. He paved, cleaned, and lighted the street before his door. He was his own constable. Such health protection as he enjoyed was the result of his own vigilance. Education was conducted at home or by the church. The library was a priestly possession, as was all learning. His home was his castle, even in the midst of the city, and society offered him little save the administration of justice and protection from foreign foes.

"To-day the city protects his life and his property from injury. It safeguards his health in countless ways. It oversees

his house construction and protects him from fire. It cleans and lights his streets, collects his garbage, supplies him with employees through free employment bureaus. It educates his children, supplies them with books, and in many instances with food. It offers him a library, and through the opening of branches almost brings it to his door. It offers nature in the parks; supplies him with opportunities for recreation and pleasure through concerts, lectures, and the like. It maintains a public market; administers justice; supplies nurses, physicians, and hospital service, as well as a cemetery for burial. It takes the refuse from his door and brings back water, gas, and frequently heat and power at the same time. It inspects his food, protects his life, and that of his children through public oversight of the conditions of factory labor. It safeguards him from contagious disease, facilitates communication upon the streets, and in some instances offers opportunities for higher technical and professional education."

Summary and Conclusions. The growth of cities has created a new civilization. The result is, society is confronted with a more complex set of human relations than have ever before been a part of human existence. No one foresaw the rapid growth of cities and therefore many social maladjustments have developed in city life. Modern society seems, however, to be destined to develop largely about city centers. Human relations, therefore, as they exist in city life, are tests of our democracy.

In rural areas, until comparatively recently, the neighborhood has prevailed as a type of human association. In city life, except in some slum areas, the neighborhood is non-existent. The tasks of community life in cities, therefore, become those of setting up impersonal social controls, such as laws and regulations and the development of agencies of social welfare, in order that these impersonal controls may not reduce individuals to mere cogs in a great economic, social, and political machine.

The opportunity for contacts in city life carries with it the possibilities of either great good or great evil. Whether these contacts work out into good or evil depends upon the surplus

of human relations which the city furnishes by way of social organization.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

- BEARD, C. A., *American City Government*, Chaps. I and II.
 BURCH and PATTERSON, *American Social Problems*, Chap. XII.
 ELLWOOD, C. A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chap. XII.
 HILL, H. C., *Community Life and Civic Problems*, Chaps. X and XI.
 HOWE, F. C., *The Modern City and Its Problems*, Chaps. IV, V, XV, and XVI.
 PARK, R. E. and BURGESS, E. W., *The City*.
 ZEUBLEN, C., *American Municipal Progress*, Chaps. I, VII, XVI, and XVII.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Is the drift of population to the cities a bad thing?
2. Can cities grow too large?
3. Why is New York larger than Kansas City?
4. Why do we have such extremes of poverty and riches in great cities?
5. Why do city governments do so much more for their people in health and recreation than other governments?
6. What chance has your home town or city to become a great city?
7. Why are human relations more impersonal in cities than in rural areas?
8. In what way or ways is a large city a test of democracy?

CHAPTER XV .

HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE RURAL COMMUNITY

Farm life is more than either the converse or the reflex of city life. Few, if any, large communities or great groups of people have ever existed without farming as one of their great economic enterprises. It has been said that when the world was created farming began. While this statement is not entirely correct, it is true that no society above the hunting and fishing stage has ever existed without agricultural pursuits. Agriculture was in time, and is in importance, the first of all great industries. Von Moltke, a great German general, said, "The German Empire will collapse without firing a shot when German agriculture fails." Any nation that does not preserve and encourage its agriculture and see that its rural population develops in both efficiency and welfare can scarcely expect to continue long as a world power, much less boast of a high standard of living.

The urbanization and industrialization of America have had their effect on agriculture and rural life. City population has increased more rapidly than has rural population. The urbanization process has been going on almost from the beginning of our national life. It has moved with increasing acceleration during the last seventy or eighty years. Farmers are not much concerned, however, about the so-called "drift to the city." They are not even universally cognizant of the urbanization of our national life. They are aware of their unsatisfactory adjustment to modern standards of life and quite keenly aware of the unfavorable comparisons which exist between themselves and the upper classes of our city population.

It is not how to keep boys and girls on the farm that concerns farmers, but how to make farming a prosperous oc-

cupation and farm life a wholesome and happy life. The recent and rapid development of means of transportation and communication has made farm people cognizant of the fact that they are not participating equally with some other classes of American society in all the good things which twentieth-century civilization affords.

There are two chief processes which have been responsible for the rise of that set of conditions and desires which generally go under the name of "The Rural Problem." They are, the growing recognition of the difference between urban life and rural life and the change in the conditions of rural life itself. The breach between urban and rural life has not widened, but rural people are now in contact with city people and know what city people have and enjoy. This does not constitute a maladjustment between urban and rural life, but it does furnish rural people standards of living by which to measure the adequacy of their own lives. Furthermore, the contacts between the two groups, city and rural, make each more dependent on the other. The farmer is now acquainted with both rural and city life and recognizes that through trade and commerce he is interdependent with other groups. Agriculture has come into the commercial régime and with it rural people have come into contact with all other classes of people.

The nation must be interested in the efficiency of its agriculture and the welfare of its rural people. The 1920 Census statistics show that the twenty leading industries of the nation producing 39.2 per cent of the value of all our products are enterprises that depend directly upon agriculture. If there be added to this the value of farm products used by other industries, it will be discovered that 59.1 per cent of our national production in 1919 had its source in agriculture.

The United States is and will continue to be for years to come fundamentally an agricultural nation, whether the majority of our people live on farms or not. One-fifth of our total national wealth is in farms. One-third of our national wealth is in the open country. Corn is our greatest national product. Cotton is our most valuable single export article. The value of our agricultural products reached \$25,000,000,000

in 1919 and the value of our exported agricultural products that year was \$4,000,000,000. Farmers feed themselves, produce most of the food and clothing supply for our great urban population, and furnish on the average 53 per cent of our export values.

The rise of America to a prominent place among the nations of the world not only gave the non-agriculturists of America and the other nations an interest in the American farm, but also gave the American farmer himself a deeper appreciation of his worth to society and a clearer appreciation of his function in society. Seeing his relationship to other industries gave him an interest in what was going on in these other lines of enterprise. Protective tariffs and other governmental schemes for assisting the manufacturers caused him to take a deeper interest in what the government was doing, not all of which was of unquestioned good for the farmer. Other industries, already well established, began to bid against the farmer for the capital and investment power of the nation. Gradually he began to see his relations to other sections of the population and to other industries. He now saw clearly that he was of great significance to the nation and to the world and that when the nations and the world recognized the United States as a world power they incidentally recognized the American farmer in a very special way.

From the national point of view, it is perfectly legitimate to raise the question as to whether the conditions of life under which any section of our population lives are such as to handicap efficient citizenship and national vitality. It is natural, therefore, that the nation should be concerned about the conditions of life on the farm. A democracy, above all other forms of government, demands an enlightened citizenship on the part of its members. It demands, on the part of individuals, at least a degree of sympathy and appreciation other than their own. It demands for its success a knowledge of, and interest in, national, state, and local affairs. These are its very essence. It does not matter, therefore, whether it is the problem of the city slum, the problem of immigration, the problem of the leisure class of the city, or the problem of

the relatively isolated farmer, it is a problem of national concern to a nation which attempts to be a democracy.

In addition to that phase of citizenship which has to do with enlightened political action, the nation has a further concern in the life and accomplishments of its population. It wants to be assured that each section of its population is performing efficiently its division of the nation's task. The United States as a nation wants to be assured that life, conditions, and opportunities on the American farm are such as to make it possible for the American farmer to perform successfully his division of society's labor. This is not to say that the nation is a taskmaster whose purpose it is to drive its servants at top speed of production no matter what the consequence. It is to say that the nation must be interested in their productive efficiency.

The Great War heightened the already growing realization on the part of the nation, and on the part of the farmer himself, of his share of the nation's task. It was not until this time of crisis and its accompanying need for great quantities of food and other raw products that the whole country came to recognize that farming is one of our great specialized industries. Previous to this time, except in rare instances, we had thought of farming problems largely as local problems. Factory and transportation industries had received national attention and encouragement in a far greater degree than had farming. The great need for efficient farm production, so universally responded to by the farmers of the nation during the war, did more to brew national concern about farm efficiency than anything that had ever before happened. It is probably safe to say that the problem of rural efficiency from the national viewpoint will never again be absent from national thought and national programs.

It is scarcely possible to overestimate the function and influence of the farm enterprise in our national life. One crop failure over any large percentage of our farming area results in a commercial crisis, and a series of such failures inevitably results in a thoroughgoing industrial depression. The success or failure of the farming industry has more to do with our

national prosperity than any other one thing. A complete failure of the national wheat crop during one year in the United States, in addition to reducing thousands of farmers to insolvency, would lessen the actual purchasing power of the nation by millions of dollars. It would close down hundreds of mills and other refining industries which depend upon wheat as raw products; would lessen the annual earning power of all transportation lines, national and international; would have serious influence upon our balance of trade with other nations; would tie up millions of dollars in farm mortgage credits; would destroy the business of large groups of commission men and other middlemen, and would so increase the price of bread to all consumers as to eliminate it from thousands of American family tables.

The nation can indeed well afford to see that her great farm life and great farm population are well cared for and her farm business carefully planned.

It is of concern to our industrial life whether the farmer is performing adequately his stewardship of the soil, whether he is getting a fair reward for his labor and investment, whether we have a right balance between urban and rural enterprises, whether transportation and communication facilities leading to and from the farm are adequate, and whether we are giving farmers educational opportunities, political expression, and in every way most thoughtful consideration. Whether our farming is efficient and whether our farm population is prosperous and happy are indeed problems of national importance. They are also gigantic and complex problems in human relations.

Isolation in contrast to the congestion of city areas is a characteristic of rural life. Isolation, in a relative sense, is probably as universal an index to rural life as any other one thing. Certainly it is in marked contrast to the congestion of cities. The population per square mile in Iowa is 40; in Kansas, 20; in Wyoming and Arizona, less than 2; and in Nevada less than 1. The population per square mile in Rhode Island is 508 and in Massachusetts 418. In New York City the population per square mile is 12,160, and in certain blocks

in the heart of the city the density of population reaches 1,458 per acre, or 933,120 per square mile. There are single blocks in New York City that have as many people crowded into them as live in one-third of the whole state of Arizona. Of course these are the two extremes of congestion and isolation. They are cited merely to emphasize the fact that in comparison with the city, the country has very few opportunities for contacts.

The general effects of social isolation and its opposite, social contacts, are so well known that we need do little more than name them. Social evolution, social progress, developing civilization, can all be spelled in terms of increasing human contacts. Increasing human contacts universally depend upon means of communication and transportation. Human thinking itself has developed almost wholly through the use of language. An individual who is robbed of the means of language, we call a defective, and those individuals who have the vocal but not the mental equipment to acquire language are by definition and conduct idiots. Human personality is developed by contacts. Civilization never has and cannot now develop in isolation. It always follows in the paths of communication and transportation. The means of communication and transportation are as important in civilization to-day as they ever were, and they are each day growing more numerous and varied and subtle. We live so habitually in their midst that we fail to recognize their function and significance, and yet if we were to be robbed of them for twenty-four hours, we would feel isolated indeed.

No rural community is completely devoid of all means of communication. Just in the degree, however, that one or many of the modern technologies of communication is lacking, to that degree the community is isolated, for isolation is not nearly so much a matter of geographic distance as it is lack of human contacts.

The chief motif in the story from pioneer to modern times is that of developing means of transportation and communication. The story itself is one of transforming bleak isolation into a fair degree of socialization. Increased facilities of trans-

portation and communication have, in fact, been the chief agencies for developing in the farmer a consciousness of the rural problem. They have thrown him into contact with the outside world, given him ideals of progress and desires which were not his a few years ago. There is some evidence that they have caused him to see the possibility of developing a real society or community in his native environment by bringing into it a knowledge of, and contact with, the remainder of society. His schools, his churches, his homes, and everything he does or thinks are to-day different because of his increasing means of contact.

Previous to the development of the means of communication, rural society was like a powerful giant without a nervous system to coördinate its activities or appraise its pains and pleasures. With this nervous system supplied, rural communities and rural societies are not only becoming coördinated in their activity, but highly conscious of their pains, pleasures, and aspirations. Few people know how rapidly the transformation has taken place and fewer still appreciate its significance to the economic and social life of those who live on the farm and likewise to our national life.

Life on the farm has both its drawbacks and its compensations. The occupation of farming is carried on under different physical and social conditions from those of any other occupation. Farming is carried on under the most extreme isolation of any of our occupations. The fact that the farmer works hundreds or even thousands of days during his lifetime in solitude cannot help but make him a different man from the city dweller, who is practically never out of sight of other persons. The fact that the farm family group so completely overshadows the influence of all other social groups must register itself in the personality and thinking of the farmer. The fact that he has practically no opportunity to observe the technical processes of other industries robs him of valuable stimuli to thought. He lives and works in the great out-of-doors, is stimulated by fresh air, buffeted by the elements, observes and works with growing, blooming, and bearing things. All these things reflect themselves in a very subtle manner in his moods,

temperament, and character. While isolation robs the farmer of social and industrial contacts, it is not all bad in its influence. It gives him a freedom from the complexities, nervous strain, and menace of evil influences which are typical in large sections of congested city areas. It gives him a degree of independence and individual initiation which is not possible where people live in great masses, makes him his own boss, the master of his own daily work, and the head of his own family. These facts also register themselves in his personality and make of him a different person from any other known to the nation.

In addition to these constant influences of environment and processes just described, there are certain purely occupational necessities which make the mode of farm life pleasant or unpleasant as the case may be. The farmer's work is much of it hard manual labor. He is, therefore, often subject to a fatigue which is not only unpleasant in itself, but which is often so extreme that it stultifies his moments of leisure and makes him less capable of carrying on efficiently the thinking and planning which give him a creative interest in his occupation and a brighter outlook on life. Furthermore, his manual labor is, much of it, such as to force a use of gross strength rather than to force him to make subtle adjustments, and it is out of the necessity of making subtle adjustments that the finer modes of thinking come.

In contrast to what has just been said is the fact that the farmer works at diversified tasks. One day he does this, the next day something else. In the same day he does many different things. This demand for diversification of activity, while it may not induce higher thought processes, does develop habits of individual judgment and gives an opportunity for individual initiative. This fact plus the fact that he is his own boss, in most cases owns his own business, and is confronted with a good opportunity to own his own farm, does more to add zest and outlook to his life than any other set of facts.

The man who works as directly with nature as does the farmer is bound to be compelled to make very exacting adjustments to the forces of nature. The factors of production with which he works are not carried to him as they are to the factory

workers. He must go where they are. The materials with which he works in planting, cultivating, and harvesting are, many of them, not subject to perfect machine processes. He must handle and move them with his own physical strength. The severity of climate and season under which he most often works is not easily modifiable by artificial heat and light, as it is in the factory and in many city occupations. He must endure these severities, seek to mitigate their influence, or so order his work as to fit in with them. The hills upon his farm cannot be reduced by excavation, the valleys cannot be filled, the creeks and rivers cannot be conquered by mere bridging. His farm processes must needs lead him over the hills and valleys as they are. Indeed, he must for the most part seek to preserve them in their native form if he would make them yield the most. His fences must cross the creeks at the borders of his farm and cross or follow around them at other points. The result of all these adverse contacts with nature is the exact opposite of the exultation which comes with the stimulation and beauties of outdoor life mentioned above. They are stultifying influences which buffet him year in and year out and to which he must continually seek to make easier adjustments by the proper organization of his farm enterprise, by an increased use of machinery and other modern technologies of farming.

The standard of living of farm families is comparatively lower than among other classes of equal economic importance. The great occupations and professions of society are carried on because the persons who make up these enterprises find either immediate satisfaction in these respective pursuits or because they expect some day to get satisfaction from having followed this or that chosen pursuit. The standard of living, while it is chiefly a scientific measure, is also the unconscious, and many times the conscious, standard by which men measure their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their position and outlook on life. The farmer in most cases has never heard the phrase "standard of living." He may never have carefully divided his demands for satisfactions into terms of food, clothing, shelter, health, education, religion, recreation, and

sociability. He may never have used the high-sounding words of "wealth and welfare." He does know, however, that his business must pay, that he must get pleasure and satisfaction out of both his hours of work and hours of leisure and that he will live an unsatisfactory life, maybe leave the farm, if he does not have economic prosperity and peace of mind. He, therefore, naturally looks at his business with these things in mind.

The standard of living is the yardstick by which we measure the efficiency and welfare of any person or social group. A satisfactory life is so much a matter of personal taste, and people are so universally satisfied with tastes which they have imbibed from their own home surroundings, that it seems to some an impossibility to set standards of social efficiency or social welfare. There are some things, however, which every one will recognize as necessary to life if life is to be worth living. The amount or degree of these essential things may vary according to occupational needs and to natural environments. If, however, any one of them is completely missing there is introduced into the life of the individual or group an undesirable element, or at least there is left out a desirable element. These socially necessary things are food, clothing, shelter, health, education, religion, recreation, and association with other persons.

The solution of the problem of rural welfare demands not only means and methods by which people who live on farms may get the essentials of an adequate life, but also demands that there be developed a healthy desire for these things. The problem of welfare everywhere can best be equated in terms of an adequate, progressive standard of living. Many of the elements in the standard of living constitute the subject matter of whole chapters in this book, and therefore a thorough treatment of the subject will not be presented here. Suffice it to say that since the farming population is a part of all national and world human relations, the farm family will and must measure the satisfactions of farm life in terms of those standards of living which others enjoy.

If we will compare the elements in the standards of living

of rural and urban people it will become apparent that farm families and rural communities are not participating equally with city people in the cultural standards which result from what we call civilization and advancement. The farmer's food standards are usually fairly good. A study of thousands of families living in urban and rural communities reveals the fact that an average rural family of five persons consumes about 1,600 pounds more of food in a year than the average city family of equal size. Furthermore, it is much easier for the farm family to have fresh food than is the case with city dwellers.

Clothing standards are difficult to compare because in addition to the necessity of being well clad it is desirable to be well dressed. The failure to be well clad and thus to suffer from extreme exposure is not as prevalent among rural people as it is among the slum dwellers of the city. On the other hand, rural people often find it difficult to keep abreast of the fashion and rural women and young people sometimes feel the chagrin that comes with the consciousness of a difference between them and city folk, due to a difference in manner of dress.

Bad housing is quite generally thought of as purely a city problem. But the family residence is one of the weakest spots in farm life. It is difficult or expensive to have water, light, and sewer systems. Few country homes are furnace heated. There are no municipal regulations or housing inspections in the open country. The results are that old, small, and poorly ventilated houses are very prevalent. In one Southern state a careful survey indicated that 42,000 farm families were living in one- or two-room houses and over 6,000 were living in one-room "shacks."

Practically all the health facilities and agencies are located in cities. The doctors practically all live there and the hospitals, drug stores, and clinics are practically all there. The results are that while a few decades ago the sickness and death rates were universally higher in the city than in the rural districts, now there are four states in the Union, each containing one or more great cities, whose urban death rates are lower than their rural death rates. The rural people live much in

the open air and for the most part follow healthful occupations, but the cities are solving their sickness problems much more rapidly than rural districts are. There are few sanitary or health teachings in rural districts, and health demonstrations have progressed considerably less among rural than among city folk.

In education, institutional religion, and recreation, rural people are universally handicapped when measured by city standards. The schoolhouses are poorer, the teachers less experienced, the school year shorter, the attendance poorer, and the amount of money expended per capita for education is less. Many rural children must yet attend one-room schools, and have no high schools in their communities. Rural libraries, art galleries, and museums are exceedingly few, as are also books and magazines in the homes. The rural church building does not measure up to the city church structure. The pastor, in thousands of cases, does not live in the rural community, and Sunday schools many times do not operate throughout the year. Rural recreation facilities are very few. The parks and playgrounds are practically all in the city places. Neighborhood and community organizations are few and team games are often not a part of the rural boys' and girls' experience. The absence of recreational opportunities and facilities is one of the reasons why farm boys and girls, and even adults, leave the country for the city.

The absence or poverty of social contacts was discussed in a previous section of the chapter. If we are to measure life by the eight standards of living briefly surveyed here, *viz.*, food, clothing, shelter or housing, health, education, religion, recreation, and social contacts, our conclusions will have to be that the life of rural people is, on the average, lived below the city standard of twentieth-century civilization.

It is a part of the task of citizenship in a nation to see that the producers of the primary wealth of the world have the best which modern civilization can furnish. Rural life is, for the most part, a happy and buoyant life. It is lived in the great out-of-doors, in contact with the direct stimulation and beauty of nature. It is not a mechanically restricted life. It does

not have the smoke and din of the manufacturing district, the absolute and minute routine machine process of the factory, the congestion of the city slum, the factory whistle to tell persons when to start and when to stop work, or traffic policemen to tell them where they can and cannot go. The rural person, from childhood to old age, probably lives a life of greater individual freedom than any other person of modern civilization. This is not to say, however, that there are not forces and factors in his environment which tend to stultify his life and in some cases to be actually harmful to him.

In periods of national stress, such as prevailed during the Great War it is natural that farmers, as all others, should measure their efficiency in national terms or even in world terms. It is too much to expect, however, that the farmer will carry on his enterprise wholly under altruistic stimulus during times of falling prices and under conditions far removed from world affairs. Efficiency from his viewpoint must be measured in terms which apply directly to his farm, his family, and his community if it is to be a stimulus to urge him to greater effort. For him the problem of efficiency is a problem of adjustment to his own immediate physical and social environment. He measures his efficiency by whether he is winning his battle against nature, whether he is measuring up to the general standards of agricultural economy, whether he is making a success out of farming. He is also concerned with the condition of his family and community life. He wants to know whether pathological elements are continually developing in his home and neighborhood because of poor farming methods or poor community facilities. Furthermore, as we have above noted, he is somewhat bound to measure the efficiency and adequacy of his life in terms of happy adjustments between his farm life and the city centers. If his contacts with the business enterprise of the city are unhelpful or unwholesome, he will consider it an agricultural inefficiency.

Recently the farmer has expanded his horizon until his problem of efficiency includes large groups of farmers and, in some cases, all farmers of the nation. He has become class

conscious and is not only asking himself whether he is a man with a program of improvement and advancement, but is also asking himself whether the whole class to which he belongs is a class or group with a program for improvement and advancement. His measure of efficiency is no longer a static measure. He looks to the future and wants to know whether his outlook on the farm, and indeed whether the outlook of farming itself, is one of possible increasing success. The viewpoint of the farmer, even though tinged with selfishness, is one of the most significant things in the nature of the "rural problem," for it indicates that he is alive to his own problems and, being alive to them, will rapidly see to their solution.

The interest which the people of the farm have recently come to take in the city market and in city people is not confined to the goods which are bought from city people. Contacts with the city and its mode of life have made farmers highly conscious of the fact that the country lacks many worth-while and enjoyable things which city people have. The paved streets, street cars, and electric lights are practically all in the city. Clean clothes, leisure, art, literature, and amusement centers are found chiefly in the city. Furthermore, the people who are permitted by circumstance and opportunity to participate in these desirable things are thought to be more "urbane," "polite," "civil," and "sophisticated" than those who are without them. Farm people for the most part do not believe that city people are superior to themselves, but they know that society at large considers the social status of the people of affairs and leisure in the city to be superior to the social status of the farmer and his family. Farmers resent this attitude and both consciously and unconsciously are striving to alter the attitude and the situation which has given rise to it. They desire, and rightfully so, to be of equal status with the urbanites.

The problem of seeing that justice is done rural people involves the whole economic policy of the nation. Farmers are coming to know their importance in our economic life. They are organizing to obtain their fair share of economic dividends

and to furnish their community the best cultural opportunities and facilities which modern civilization affords. To look upon them merely as individuals is not only unfair to them, but shows a lack of knowledge and appreciation of their place in our civic life. Farmers constitute a great occupational or professional group. They are interwoven with the lives of all members of society by means of the major economic functions they perform. They participate in and help to make our common culture. Because of their isolation and lack of class organization they have often been exploited indirectly and directly. Their growing class consciousness and a growing appreciation on the part of others of their place in society indicate a new type of rural life.

There is a need for the re-establishment or rebuilding of the rural community. In early American rural life every person was a member of a recognized neighborhood or community. With the settlement of the South, the Middle-West and the West, the isolated individual farmstead became the prevailing mode of rural settlement. Even under these conditions there existed a unit of association which was consciously recognized as a country neighborhood. With the coming of the means of transportation and communication into rural areas, there has taken place a rapid change in community alignments. The old areas of association have very largely broken down and no new areas of association have yet been developed to take their places.

The whole system of human relations which existed in the pioneer stage of American agriculture was predicated by the fact that farming was a self-sufficient economic enterprise. Farmers did not depend very much upon others to furnish them any of the necessities of life. To-day farming is a commercial enterprise. Rural people are specialists in the production of raw products. They depend upon other segments of society to furnish them with many of the materials and services which go to make up a modern standard of living. The transfer to a commercial economy has made necessary many human relations which a century or even a few decades ago,

in some sections of the country, were not a part of the normal economic and social life of farm people.

Because farming is now a commercial enterprise the local trade center must be a part of the rural community. The small town has few functions to perform which are not directly concerned with agriculture in one way or another. Farm and town people are confronted with the necessity of working out schemes of co-operation by means of which they can be mutually helpful to each other.

With the coming of the automobile and good roads has come the possibility of larger units of co-operation among the rural people themselves. Consolidated schools are replacing the one-room school. Larger parishes are possible in church organization. All economic and social programs in the country can now be carried out on a larger scale. Such changes, however, cannot take place quickly. The old school, church, and other types of organization have been institutionalized over long periods of actual practice. The result is that many farm communities are retaining intense loyalties to the old scheme of local neighborhood organizations in the face of an imperative need for larger and more efficient units of co-operation.

There is need in rural communities for definite forms of economic and social organization. Cities are definite geographic areas with definitely incorporated municipal existence. They can therefore exercise a surer control and direction over the economic and social factors which influence their lives. Rural communities must discover or develop either voluntary or official social grouping which will make it possible for them to carry out community plans and programs.

Summary and Conclusions. There are two kinds of human relations that are of major importance in considering American rural life. One is that set of human relations which constitutes the home and local community life of farm people, and the other is that set of human relations which maintains between rural dwellers and the rest of society. Both of these sets of relations have changed sharply in recent years. Modern rural home and community life is vastly different to-day from what it was in Colonial or pioneer days. The farmer's re-

lations to the rest of society are growing even more intimate and complex.

Farming is one of the most fundamental, if not the most fundamental, economic enterprise in the world. Farm people and rural society are therefore matters of great concern in all human society. In the United States the open country and small-town populations still constitute about one-half of the national population. Whether economic efficiency and social well-being prevail in country life is a matter of great importance to the nation. It, therefore, behooves the nation and persons engaged in pursuits other than farming to recognize the fact that their success, efficiency, and well-being are interwoven with the life and activities of the rural people.

The farmer's human contacts have been, and are yet, relatively few in comparison with those of city dwellers. Because of this the stable influences of such institutions as the home and church still operate in a dominating fashion in the lives of rural people. On the other hand, the farmer's opportunity to participate in the broader, more diverse and cosmopolitan culture of the world depends upon his capacity to develop more social contacts and a greater gamut of human relations. If the wholesome and character-building influences of stable rural institutional life can be retained while the farm population makes successful adaptations to the commercial world and the world of wider culture, there should develop in America a unique civilization. If this cannot be accomplished it is probable that the rural portion of our society will follow the way of older nations and develop in our rural districts a peasant civilization.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

GALPIN, C. J., *Rural Life*, Chap. II.

GILLETTE, J., *Constructive Rural Sociology*, Chaps. XIV and XV.

SANDERSON, D., *The Farmer and His Community*, Chaps. II and XVIII.

VOGT, P. L., *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, Chaps. II and XVII.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Why do people farm?
2. Is the drift to the city good or bad?
3. Why do the middle classes of the city consider themselves superior to farmers?
4. Would it be a good or a bad thing to have 50 per cent of all our farmers tenants?
5. What do we mean when we say the farmer is isolated? What are the results of his isolation?
6. Do you think farmers ought to organize to get greater profits on their products?
7. Why is the rural standard of living low?
8. Describe and explain the changes which are taking place in rural life because of the development of better means of transportation and communication.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR FAMILY LIFE

The growing instability of the American family is a cause of serious social problems. There are more than twenty million families in the United States. As was stated in Chapter II, our society is more nearly universally organized on the basis of family units than any other except that of government units. The power and capacity of the family to mold the life of the citizen is greater than that of all other agencies and institutions combined. It is impossible to calculate the moral and civic results of having lived for fifteen or twenty years in the close co-operation and teamwork of family life. It is, therefore, impossible to estimate the loss which society suffers from the instability and particularly from the dissolution of hundreds of thousands of our homes.

In 1922 there was one divorce for every seven and six-tenths marriages in the United States. The United States has more divorces than all the rest of the so-called Christian civilized world combined. In 1905 there was one divorce for every twelve marriages in the United States. France at that time had one divorce to every thirty marriages, Germany one divorce to every forty marriages, and England one divorce to every four hundred marriages. Furthermore, our divorce rate is increasing more rapidly than anywhere else in the world. It was estimated by the United States Census Bureau that there were 148,554 divorces granted in the country in 1922. In 1920 we had 508,584 divorced persons in our population and the figures did not include those who had been divorced but had later remarried. There have been granted more than 1,000,000 divorces in the United States in the last twenty years. The divorce rate is growing much more rapidly than the population and much more rapidly than the marriage rate.

Between 1867 and 1888 the number of divorces increased 157 per cent while the population increased only about 60 per cent. Between 1887 and 1906 divorces increased 160 per cent, while the population increased only about 50 per cent. Between 1906 and 1922 the population is estimated to have increased less than 30 per cent, but divorces increased 106 per cent. In 1870, 3.5 per cent of all marriages were terminated by divorce; in 1880, 4.8 per cent; in 1900, 8.0 per cent; and in 1922, 13.0 per cent. These facts prove not only a very great instability of family ties, but indicate a progressive dissolution which is bound to lead to a complete breakdown if not checked. It is a problem to which the public dares not be blind or about which it can ill afford to be complacent unless it can look with complacency upon and faith in some form of society in which stable family life is non-essential.

In Colonial times such a thing as divorce was scarcely known. Farming was the chief occupation and all members of the family were employed in a common economic pursuit. The father was the recognized head of the household and his wife was his helpmate. The children were constantly at home and were subjected to the constant influence of a thoroughly stable family organization. Divorce was a stigma which no family could afford to have attached to it. Conditions have changed from that time to to-day. Every family is a part of dozens of other associations. The father, except in the rural districts, works away from home. The mother may also work outside the home, and the children frequent the public playground, enter occupations of their own, or are drawn outside the family environment by the hundreds of attractions furnished by city life. The home is now in competition with many other agencies and is less stable and less a self-sufficient social unit than it was one hundred years ago.

The causes of family dissolution are a part of our complex and democratic social life. The causes of the dissolution of family life are not simple or few. Like all other problems of a complex and democratic society, they are interwoven with the day-by-day life of our people. There has developed in America, from the beginning of our national life, a spirit of and

belief in individual freedom. The ideals of the sanctity of the individual in America supersede all other ideals. This has led to an enlargement of women's rights and a liberalism concerning the rights of children. It has been our idea that a situation with which a person is dissatisfied was sufficient cause for seeking escape. With our abundance of economic opportunity and freedom of political action, such individualism was possible. The result has been that we have built a set of attitudes which are inimical to many things which require co-operative action and mutual agreement. The family, as all other social units, finds it hard to maintain its solidarity and stability in the face of a rampant individualism.

Great changes have taken place in our economic organization. Almost 70 per cent of all persons now gainfully employed are in occupations and professions which take them out of the home. The factory system and the market have taken from the home hundreds of tasks once performed there. The father, often the mother, and sometimes the children, work in the factory or in some occupation outside the home. Whether there is divorce or not the old family social and work unit has almost universally passed, except in agriculture. The home life is reduced to the minimum because of the lack of continuous contact between the members of the family.

The growing independence of women has made them more capable of self-support. The occupations and professions are now open to them. In many occupations, on account of the increased use of machinery, they are capable of competing with men in production. Universal common and high school education and the opening of the doors of institutions of higher learning have equipped them for the professions. They now have alternatives to becoming housewives and are thus not dependent upon men for complete financial support as they used to be. They have been given the right of suffrage, and have established many clubs, organizations, and agencies in which they have opportunity to develop initiative and habits of independent action. While all these things are good, the total effect is that women no longer feel that they must guard the integrity and stability of the home as their only

citadel of safety. Two-thirds of all divorces in the United States are granted upon the pleas of women, which is evidence that they no longer feel themselves to be bound for life and substance to the family.

The increase in the cost of living with the failure of family income to keep pace with it is to-day a quite universal cause of discontent among the lower wage-earning groups. The increase in great fortunes has made it possible for many families to live in luxury. The development of newspapers, picture shows, places of public meeting and city life has made it possible for all people to know something of the standards of living of the rich. The result is a continuous struggle to attain heights of consumption beyond financial means. Industrial wages are based upon individual competitive bases, and the standard of living is based upon the family consumption unit. That is, married men must compete for jobs with those who have but one person to support, but must themselves support families on their earnings. Their incapacity to supply their families with satisfactory standards of living drives the mothers and children into the factories or leads to discontent with home conditions, both of which contribute to the insecurity and instability of the family unit.

We have already mentioned some of the influences of city life. Others should be noted. The whole complexity of city life is something that was not known in the days of our early stable family life. Divorce and desertion are much more frequent in city than in rural districts. In the city every factor that we have thus far mentioned is present to a greater degree than it is in the country, unless it be the factor of individualism, and even individualism in terms of greater opportunities to choose different lines of endeavor is greater in the city than in the country. In the city the housewives have more time for participation in distinctly women's clubs and agencies. The competition of agencies, institutions, and interests outside the home is greater, the influence of the factory is greater, the slums with their bad housing and low standard of living are there, the wide and noticeable discrepancy between classes is present, and the opportunity for all members of the

family to contribute to the family's common economic pursuit is restricted. All these facts contribute to the weakening of a close family life and apparently contribute to the instability of the family as a social institution.

The divorce rate is almost four times as high in childless families as in families having children. Children in the home not only give an added cause for maintaining the union, but alter the attitudes of the parents toward each other and give a completely different atmosphere to home life. The growing number of childless families, particularly among our native-born white population, is probably an indirect cause for many broken families.

In addition to the facts mentioned, most of which are economic in nature, there are changes in the general moral and religious facts which in the past have cemented the family into a close solidarity. It has not been long since no one would have thought of getting married without having a minister or priest to conduct the ceremony. Gradually the sanctity of the marriage union has been lost by transfer from that of a purely religious to that of a civil sanction. The simple religious belief that the union was ordained and sanctified by God has given way to a belief that it is a civil contract that can be annulled by mutual agreement or because of having been violated by one of the parties. Whether this transfer has been good or bad on the whole, it can scarcely be denied that the removal, to any degree, of the idea that the union is one ordained by Providence has served to weaken it and thus make dissolution easier.

Together with the change in sentiment concerning the sanctity of the family has come a growth in the reign of civil law and a belief that a thing sanctioned by law can have no bad social effects. The law grants divorces, the general public knows of the widespread breakdown of family ties, and like any other movement it gains momentum from its own operation. Divorce has become almost a fad in some circles.

The fact that the divorce rate is considerably lower among our foreign-born citizens than among our native-born is evidence of the fact that the practice has almost become a

psychological movement. When we come to the legal grounds upon which divorces are granted we are dealing with much more specific, though probably less trustworthy, causes of the dissolution of the family. For the pleas for divorces are sure to be couched in terms that agree with those specified in the laws as grounds for divorce. The parties have mutually agreed to separate and therefore any plea is satisfactory to both parties which they and the lawyers may devise. Since there are about forty different pleas upon which divorce can be obtained in the different states, persons desiring separation are almost sure to find the accomplishment easy.

The census report on divorces granted in the United States between 1902 and 1906 gave the following as causes for divorces granted during that period: desertion, 38.5 per cent; cruelty, 23.5 per cent; adultery, 15.3 per cent; intemperance, 3.9 per cent; neglect to provide, 3.8 per cent; and miscellaneous, 15.0 per cent. Two of these grounds are undoubtedly actual. The others may be fictitious in a great many cases, simply being agreed to outside of court. Desertion must be real, even though planned and agreed to, for the courts demand evidence of actual desertion before granting divorce. Adultery is a sufficiently grave charge not to permit of fictitious concoction or mutual agreement. These two grounds constitute cause for divorces in 53.8 per cent of all cases. In one case, desertion, the dissolution has actually taken place, and in the other, adultery, the sanctity of the marriage union has been broken.

Many cases of family dissolution take place that are never recorded by the courts. Among the negroes and in some cases among the poor, ignorant, and most immoral whites, both separation and reunion are practiced without intervention of the court or any other formal action. Nor should it be forgotten that the factors of modern life that constitute the causes for complete family dissolution are working constantly in all society to weaken the unity and solidarity of the family as a social institution.

Not least by any means among the causes for divorce, though a cause that cannot be categorically listed, are foolish, indis-

creet and ill-advised marriages. The family is a social institution. Its establishment is a serious step in life. But our romantic notion that it is all based upon an indefinable attraction of one person for another, without a recognition of its major function or its desirable stability, can probably be assigned as the chief cause for family instability and its widespread dissolution. No other one of our social institutions is set up with so little planning, analysis of functions, or appreciation of meaning as families are. The results are that any slight cause of irritation or mere incompatibility, as well as some of the stern factors which have been mentioned are used as grounds for separation. The census report shows that 25 per cent of all divorces take place within two years after marriage and that 40 per cent take place in less than five years. Cases are on record where divorce has taken place in less than twenty-four hours after marriage. These facts are evidence of the lightness and lack of forethought with which thousands of marriages are consummated.

The problem of remedies for family instability and dissolution are civic problems. If we were to consider the causes of instability and dissolution one by one it would be apparent that not one of them is an individual problem. None of them will eliminate itself. They are interwoven in the trends of our common social life and must be solved by public measures, public enlightenment, and public conscience on the basis of a widespread and sure knowledge of their existence, operation, and significance.

The cause of undue and rampant individualism must be remedied by an emphasis upon our growing interdependence and the necessity for social welfare to supersede individual selfishness and even individual rights. Those causes due to changes in our economic organization must be eliminated by legislation which will assure the wage-earning father a sufficient income with which to support his family on a decent standard of living. Those due to the growing independence of women must be eliminated by the supplying of community institutions and agencies to assist them in the proper rearing of their children and a re-emphasis of their duty to the race

as mothers. Those indirectly due to childless families can be eliminated only by teaching men and women the sacred duty and privilege of parenthood and the obligation they have, generally as well-to-do and enlightened people, not to let the poor and ignorant supply all of the next generation.

Many legal remedies have been proposed to lessen our divorce rate. Japan reduced her divorces one-half by legal measures. Undoubtedly fewer grounds for divorce, greater deliberation by the courts in considering pleas for divorce, making desertion and non-support a crime, the elimination of areas of prostitution, the passage of minimum wage laws, the elimination of slums and the passage of laws safeguarding marriage, would all help to lessen the number of divorces by removing the grounds for separation. But the chief attack must be in the development of public enlightenment and civic conscience. There is no way that a community or a civilization can escape the responsibility for its institutions. It must see that they are maintained in their functioning or suffer the maladjustments due to their breakdown.

A constructive program for the elimination of the causes of the instability and dissolution of American family life demands four chief lines of attack; direct legislation concerning marriage and divorce, supplementary social legislation dealing with the facts that lie back of the obvious causes, moral and civic education in the school, churches, homes, and press, and the development of a social consciousness concerning the problems of this major social institution.

The economic bonds which at one time held the family together have been weakened and the old patriarchal authority of the head of the family has given way to democratic ideals. The family of the future must depend upon the mutual love, altruism, and enlightenment of its members and upon the legal and educational safeguards which the public provides for its integrity.

Direct legislation concerning marriage, divorce, and desertion can do much to guarantee the solidarity of family life. All trivial legal grounds for divorce should be eliminated.

Courts of domestic relations and divorce proctors should be provided. Many a breach that is later hard or impossible to heal could be obviated by wise court council and deliberation on the causes for separation. Checks to hasty marriage should be made legally necessary. Prostitution and venereal disease should be outlawed. Uniform marriage and divorce laws should be enacted. But the causes for divorce and the results of family dissolution lie chiefly outside the integral family maladjustments. Legislation concerning these causes is needed as a prevention to family maladjustments. Legislation dealing with industrial and family relations, public recreation, community health and morality, housing, infant and maternal care, vice, crime, and poverty, is essential to the elimination of the underlying causes of family instability and dissolution.

If we would insure the integrity and stability of our family life we must develop social enlightenment and good human relations in all walks of life. The real solution to domestic problems, as to all other problems, lies in the spread of scientific and civic knowledge specifically aimed at the betterment of economic conditions and general intelligence on the part of the public. When a nation, conserving and developing its natural resources and seeking to educate and stimulate its people to better production, also seeks to educate them in all values of life, political and social, as well as economic, it has laid the basis for the solution of all of its civic problems as rapidly as they arise or shortly thereafter.

Education is fundamentally the process of learning new habits, ideas, and ideals, and of making new individual and social adjustments. It deals with the preparation for life and the dynamic processes of living. Legislation, on the other hand, affects the individual largely after life's habits are set. It is necessarily static and therefore cannot provide for changes and transitions. Legislation is a very good tool for social preservation, but a very poor tool for social reform or reconstruction. The solution to the growing instability of our family life, therefore, rests largely upon the education which persons receive in the school, the church, and the home.

We allow children to pick up their information about the most sacred, profound, and vital functions of all human life from the gutters and the slums. They learn from the lips of ignorance and vice those things which the homes, schools, and churches should teach. They enter marriage to suit their own convenience or pleasure. They are never taught to look upon the family as very socially necessary or upon its wholesomeness and integrity as vital to all good individual and social life. They need to be taught health, hygiene, and sanitation in the schools. They need to be taught particularly home-making and vocational proficiency in the school and home. They need to be taught the physical, moral, and civic significance of marriage and family life in the church, home, and school. These are not difficult things to teach. The atmosphere in which they can be taught, however, demands the elimination of prudish or purist notions about them and the establishment of a deep appreciation of their naturalness and the social necessity for the obtaining of such knowledge.

Education on domestic, civil, and moral issues should not stop with the instruction of children or the task of instruction be confined to the home, church and school. All reform and reconstruction, as well as legislation, await an enlivened public opinion and public conscience. Newspapers, the public platform, and the stage, all assist in developing the ideas and emotional life of the people. Too often the affairs of family life are handled flippantly by these agencies or the agencies are used to spread the knowledge of evils without proposing remedies for them. Divorce scandals and the society columns fill the major portion of the space newspapers give to domestic relations. The picture shows and novels play up illicit sex conduct in order to make dramatic and emotional plots. Sex vices are joked about or accepted as necessary evils, notwithstanding the fact that they strike at the vitals of the family's integrity as surely as treason does at the integrity of the government or popularized arson or plunder would at the institution of private property. The individual within the family circle is a private person, but the family is a social institution and any tendency in public affairs or practices of private life

that threaten its existence are subjects to be dealt with by the public will and public conscience.

There are instances when the sanctity of any individual must supersede all social institutions. There are instances where the preservation of one institution necessitates sharp modifications in the operation of other institutions. There is need for continuous modification in the organization and operation of all social forms. It is seldom, however, that any form of social organization, whose function is so vital as to have raised it to the plane of institutionalization, goes completely out of existence. Even then its dissolution is very slow. More often the dissolution of one or more social institutions means a breakdown in the civilization of which they are the foundation. History is replete with such examples. The tragedy is generally enacted without the general population being conscious of it. It is possible that such a tragedy is being enacted in our midst. Family life as a whole is an institution. Its functions, those of bearing and rearing children to successful biological maturity and teaching them the customs and traditions of our civilization, are vital to the perpetuity of the race and continuance of our culture. This institution, however, is made up of more than twenty million segments, or individual families, in the United States. Each is looked upon as a private organization whose integrity and destiny are of no concern to those outside its circle. Its dissolution is therefore assumed to be a matter for mutual agreement, or at least its integrity to depend only on a contractual basis.

Any widespread stoppage or breakdown in industry is immediately reflected throughout the interdependent economic world. Failures of governments to work are immediately known to a goodly per cent of the population. The same is true to some degree of schools and churches. These institutions are public in nature, not only because they are social institutions, but because their continuance depends on the constant participation of the public in their successful operation. The family is different. Its functions are as vital as those of any of the other institutions, but its continuance is

thought to be a problem of its own members solely. Because of this fact it is in many ways one of the most difficult elements in our complex social life with which we are concerned.

Summary and Conclusions. Unless we can eliminate all the facts of habit and personality which make one individual a socially undesirable mate for another it will be undesirable to eliminate all possibility of separation. Insanity, cruelty, criminality, and venereal disease on the part of one member of the marriage union are things from which the other member must be shielded not only for his or her own sake, but for the welfare of society. If, therefore, it is essential that dissolution shall not take place in thousands of cases, the prevention must be found in the elimination of the factors and habits of individual character which now make it desirable. These accomplishments lie outside the power of the family. They must be recognized as tasks of communities, states, and nations.

Unless we can afford to sacrifice the activities of such institutions as industries, which encroach upon the family and destroy the solidarity of its life, we shall have to accept or plan modifications in both family and industrial life. We cannot afford to turn back the pages of progress in industrial organization for better production, nor could we accomplish such a reversion if we chose. Our only alternative is to recognize the fundamental interdependence of all institutions and the inter-relation of their functions, and develop a great enough degree of public enlightenment concerning these facts to make each serve the social purpose of the other. This will mean the sacrificing of private industrial gains in behalf of family wages to the father, the elimination of the congested slum areas of the industrial centers, the taking over by communities of a large portion of the educational, recreational, and occupational training of the children, and the guaranteeing of sufficient family income to make it possible to enforce compulsory attendance at school.

A long history of development and social change lies between the closely knit, highly unified, and carefully guarded family

life of the early Hebrews and Romans and the loosely organized households of our modern democracies, in which each member is supposed to have personal rights and where a personality is sacred in its freedom for development. A vast transition has taken place in the industrial, political, religious, and educational life of the world during this period. Family life is part and parcel of this change, but its fundamental functions have never changed. It is still our only sanctioned form of social life for bearing and rearing children, and probably will continue to be for countless generations in the future. Some way must therefore be found better to guard its integrity and guarantee its continuance.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

ASHLEY, R. L., *The Practice of Citizenship*, Chap. II.

BURCH and PATTERSON, *The Problems of American Democracy*, Chap. XXXVIII.

DEALEY, J. Q., *The Family in its Sociological Aspects*, Chap. IX.

ELLWOOD, C. A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chap. VIII.

GOODSELL, G., *The History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution*, Chaps. XIII and XIV.

HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of American Democracy*, Chap. VII.

Questions for Discussion:

1. What influences in your community are most detrimental to the homes of the community?
2. What do you think of allowing persons to separate by mutual agreement without the intervention of the law?
3. What do you think of the idea of not permitting divorce at all?
4. Is sex vice an individual concern only? Why or why not?
5. What are the comparative advantages of the son of a very poor family and the son of a very rich family?
6. What should be the rôle of religion in solving the problems of family instability?
7. How would you go about it to create a public opinion which would allow the dissolution of family life?

CHAPTER XVII

HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE SOCIALLY DEFICIENT MEMBERS OF SOCIETY, THE DEFECTIVE AND THE DEPENDENT

Every nation, state, and local community has a number of persons in it who are so different from the normal person physically, mentally, or morally as to constitute grave social problems. If everyone in society were exactly like every one else, life would be humdrum indeed. It is fortunate that such is not the case. On the one hand, any unity and continuity of action in a group depends in no small degree upon the similarity of its members. Their physical similarity is not so important as their mental similarity, and their moral similarity is even more important than either their physical or their mental similarities. On the other hand, physical dissimilarities such as those which exist universally between the white, black, and yellow races constitute the basis of some of our greatest social problems.

If a person is physically handicapped by ill health or deformity he is incapable of playing his full part in economic and social activity. If he is mentally deficient he is incapable of full participation in the life of the group because of his incapacity to communicate freely with its members, to understand the group's ways of life and thought, or to contribute to its development. If he is morally deficient he will fail or refuse to abide by the group's ideas of right and wrong and so will constitute a perpetual disturbance in its midst.

The socially deficient members of society are usually classified into three groups—the dependent, the defective, and the delinquent. Dependency, usually called poverty, may be due to one or many causes. Among its causes may be defectiveness and delinquency. Delinquency, in turn, may be due to

defectiveness or may result directly from a person's not being able to obtain the degree of economic independence which is normal. No matter what the causes of social deficiency are, they make persons incapable of living and acting as other members of society do, and so constitute a menace to the well-being of all communities. Each community must recognize its socially deficient members as a part of its citizenry and must provide for dealing with the problems incident to their existence.

We have in the United States 35,000 persons who are totally deaf, 52,000 who are totally blind, 200,000 who are insane, and probably from 300,000 to 500,000 who are feeble-minded. We have 13,500,000 cases of disease annually, and probably 500,000 persons who are totally or partially dependent on community, state, or national financial assistance. We send more than 500,000 persons to jails or reformatories each year and the number who are penalized by fines is much greater even than this. There are probably over two million persons in the United States who are dealt with by some municipality, county, or state because of a recognition of the fact that they are socially abnormal in one or more ways.

There is great need for the development of enlightened and humane public opinion on the issues concerned with the socially deficient members of society. The impersonal relations which exist in a large and complex society make it easy to neglect the task of justice to the socially deficient. When communities are no larger than families and tribes the existence of the socially deficient persons was easily known and their menace to the group was recognized and felt by all. In a nation of 100,000,000 people it is easy for 10 per cent of the population to be so socially deficient as to drag down the level of all without the general population being clearly conscious of their presence. The establishment and maintenance of social institutions to care for these classes has removed many of them from our midst. Furthermore, the establishment of statutory laws removing their treatment to a large degree from voluntary to public responsibility, tends to lessen the

humanitarian sentiments which ought to prevail if justice is to be done.

We have better knowledge of the laws of heredity, psychology, and sociology than ever before. We ought, therefore, to be more cognizant of the causes and meaning of social deficiency than ever before. The great tasks in regard to these classes are those of gaining information concerning their existence and their menace to society, and of applying our knowledge of disease and health, character and habit formation, and wise social adjustments to them. These tasks cannot be accomplished on the basis of an easy theory of the innate perverseness of the socially deficient, a simple faith in legal remedies, or a tacit acceptance of old methods of treatment. They must be accomplished by a knowledge of the growing interdependence of all parts of society and an anxiety to see the efficiency and welfare of community life increased by eliminating the factors in it which generate the social maladjustments of all classes.

The socially deficient members of society are persons who are so defective in personal adjustments, in one or more ways, that they cannot cope with the social situations which confront them day by day. They cannot work out their adjustments without the assistance of the group. It is a tragic commentary on social intelligence that the plight of such persons is observed by the great mass of people more from the standpoint of morbid curiosity than with sympathy and understanding. Only slightly less tragic is the fact that casual and sentimental alms-giving is often substituted for personal understanding of and social justice to the socially maladjusted.

How should a community, state, or nation handle its defectives and what should be its attitude toward them? We have noted that the totally blind and deaf constitute almost 90,000 members of our national group and that the insane and feeble-minded constitute about 600,000. In addition to these we have at least 500,000 cripples in the United States. That is, we have about 1,200,000 persons in the United States who are

so defective as to make it necessary for the state to care for them in institutions or to help them in some other way.

The problem of insanity is becoming greater every year. We are learning more about it because of the progress of medicine and psychology. The increasing number of pleas of insanity now being presented in criminal cases is doing much to acquaint people with mental diseases. We are coming to know that borderline insanity or psychoneurosis is the cause of many disturbances and maladjustments in all phases of personal and social life. In early society insane persons were thought to be possessed of demons or to be affected by the moon. It is from the latter idea that we got the word lunacy, meaning affected by the changes of the moon. Many insane persons were, and are even yet to-day, thought to be perverse or mean. The practices resulting from these beliefs were punishment, incantation to dispossess them, or disregard of them if they were not dangerous. We now know that they are people who are sick or diseased, though we have not yet removed the stigma from them as we have from those who suffer from other illness.

In recent years great strides have been made in curing insanity. The results are that the stigma of mental diseases is gradually becoming less. We no longer speak of "insane asylums," but of "hospitals for the insane." When society comes to recognize these institutions purely as hospitals and is willing to support them as hospitals, they, as social institutions, will be able to carry their success in complete mental rehabilitation much further than they now do. Sooner or later we may hope that their status will be further changed to make it possible for them to extend their services to the general population (as is now the case in some institutions), and thus to act as preventive as well as curative agencies.

The feeble-minded constitute probably the greatest menace to society of any of our socially deficient classes. They are not often physically dangerous, as is the case of the criminal or some of the insane. They are often capable of partially making their way in the world. But they constitute something like 2 per cent of our population and they contribute

more offspring each generation than do the same number of normal members of society. They and their children contribute most of our dependents and delinquents and they are magnets for all kinds of immoralities in every community of the nation.

The feeble-minded are classified into three groups—the idiots who never attain a mental efficiency greater than that of a normal child of two years of age; the imbeciles whose mental ages range between two and seven years; and the morons whose mental ages are above seven but below twelve. Most idiots are incapable of procreation and so do not perpetuate their kind in society. On the other hand, they are so obviously helpless and thus burdensome to their own families that society quite generally cares for them in institutions. They are the most noticeable but the least troublesome mental defectives.

The imbeciles have a higher mental efficiency and are often capable of partial self-support. They are therefore harbored in their parental homes or allowed to circulate freely in the community. Their offspring, most often illegitimate, are almost sure to be imbeciles, epileptics or idiots. They and the morons are the contributors to our perpetual and increasing stream of mentally deficient. Imbeciles are so defective that they should be incarcerated and given institutional care. They can be made self-supporting to a large degree and thus not be one-tenth the burden to society if cared for in institutions as they are in costs of crime, poverty, and the perpetuation of their kind if left in society at large.

The morons are so near normal that they are often considered merely queer. They become the village fools, the prostitutes, and often the criminals of the community. They intermarry with their own kind or with normal persons and create some of the greatest tragedies of life by way of broken homes, criminal and dependent families, backward and delinquent children, illiterate voters, and general economic and social inefficiency. They are so near normal that they are difficult to detect. Usually they show up early as retarded children in schools. As such they should be placed in special

classes and trained for specific tasks. About the only solution that can be offered for their elimination from society is eugenics. They are products of poor human stock and the chief solution to their menace is to leave them out of the next generation, so far as possible.

The deaf and the blind are so obviously handicapped and are yet so normal in all other ways that we almost universally assume humanitarian attitudes toward them and quite generally provide adequate training for them in state institutions. The crippled are obviously handicapped, but, due to the fact that the vast majority of them become cripples after birth, we have not yet come to provide adequately for them.

The proper care and treatment for the defective members of society would provide the following:

1. Hospitals for the insane where they could be treated, many of them cured, and all of them humanely dealt with.
2. Asylums for the idiots.
3. Schools and colonies for the imbeciles and low-class morons, where they could be trained as nearly as possible for self-support and kept from perpetuating their kind.
4. State schools for the blind and deaf which will train them for complete self-support and self-respect.
5. Rehabilitation and vocational schools for the crippled. We have recognized the desirableness and justice of the provision for those crippled who were maimed in the war and have proved the economic practicability of their rehabilitation. We should expand the program to include all those who are injured in our industrial pursuits or who are born handicapped.

What provisions should a community make for its dependents and what should be its attitude toward them? Among the dependents in society, in addition to the defectives, we find the sick and the invalid, the poor and ne'er-do-well, the unemployed and vagrant, the widows and children of broken homes, and, of course, the little children and aged persons.

Every one of us is dependent on other persons and their activities, but most of us are capable of mutual assistance. Those whom we classify as dependents are people whom private or public charity must support a part or all the time. Many may be poor and even poverty-stricken but they are not paupers unless the community, state, or nation has to provide them with the essentials of life by alms of some kind.

A poor person is merely one who does not have as much property or income as the average citizen of the community has. A person who is considered to be comparatively rich in one community might be considered comparatively poor in some other community. A poverty-stricken person is one who cannot provide more for himself than the so-called mere necessities of life, though he may prefer to go without other things than to take alms. A pauper is a person who depends upon public alms in some form and for whom the public or some private organization or agency provides support. Technically only, one who is a ward of the state is a pauper.

In a society of serfdom or slavery there was practically no poverty of the type we know to-day. Each feudal lord or slaveholder considered the human group under his control as a unit and cared for them just as he did other property. In a democratic society, whose creed is liberty, fraternity, and equality, the rights and opportunities of liberty lead to inequalities, and always the exercise of liberty and the maintenance of equality depend upon the practice of fraternity. The assumption is that each of us is willing to assume a degree of responsibility for all others in return for the liberty, freedom, and rights granted.

Upon the attitude of the public depends not only how we handle the problems connected with our dependents, but to a large degree the amount of poverty we have. For centuries it was assumed that poverty was a result of the natural perverseness of human beings and, therefore, the correct way to deal with it was thought to be to punish those who could not support themselves, unless they were obviously defective. Even then their defects were thought to be a result of their parents' sins and so constituted a stigma upon the family.

Persons were driven from the community, cast into jail, or forced to work under the impulsion of public supervision. Later the attitude changed to one of fatality. The words of Jesus that the "poor ye have with ye always" was taken as the enunciation of a law of nature. Poverty was thought to be a part of God's ordained order, and the poor to furnish his people an opportunity to practice the virtue of charity. Accordingly, alms were given freely and dependency was encouraged to the extent that it became a dire menace to many mediæval European countries. In India and China such notions prevail to some degree to-day, with the result that communities are infested with professional beggars, supported by persons not so much interested in the beggars as in the selfish virtue of giving alms.

To-day we recognize poverty and our dependents as results of our complex social life. We know that our great natural resources, our free education, and our capacity to produce enough or more consumable goods than are necessary for all our people's needs make poverty very largely a solvable problem. We are, therefore, starting to study it with a conviction that it can be reduced, to the mutual benefit of those who are dependent and to the good of the public at large. Its causes are being recognized as maladjustments in our economic and social organizations and its solution is recognized as part of the task of an enlightened citizenship.

The solution to the problem of dependency lies in the elimination of its causes. But its causes are complex and their elimination cannot be accomplished in a day. We shall, therefore, have to continue to care for those caught in the complexities of our economic and social machinery, while public opinion and public enlightenment make the economic, social, and political adjustments necessary to the elimination of its causes. Some European countries, notably England, have attempted to deal with the whole problem by elaborate systems of social insurance. This plan of solution looks upon accidents, sickness, old age, invalidism, and even unemployment as natural, though for the most part temporary failures of the economic machinery to provide for the necessities of all the people.

It looks upon social insurance not as a scheme of charity, but as a plan for pooling the problems incident to the irregularities, uncertainties, and risks of making a living. It therefore holds the individual, the industries, and the state mutually responsible for the misfortune and handicaps which persons suffer in our complex industrial society. It believes that industry should be held at least partially responsible for its human breakage as well as for its material wastes and capital risks. It does not believe that the individual's responsibility should be wholly eliminated and it looks upon the state or government as responsible for the efficiency and welfare of all its people. It therefore requires that the industrial establishment, the individual, and the state each assist in paying the premium on the insurance in order that the individual or family may get the dividends upon which to live in periods of misfortune or depression.

Communities, states, and nations should go and are going further by preventing disease and fostering health. They are controlling infectious and contagious disease, providing health inspection and education, safeguarding milk and water supplies, providing public health laboratories and clinics, legislating concerning work conditions and environments, forbidding the marriage of defectives, furnishing care and support for mothers at the time of child birth, and by all such practices making people more capable of self-support and financial independence. They are providing charitable institutions which seek to help persons overcome their handicaps as quickly as possible and to care for them permanently in case they are aged or incurable. Whenever possible an attempt is made to keep persons out of public institutions in order that the home, school, church, and community influences may play their part in making and helping them live normal lives. All of them are good, but the stream of the poverty-stricken and especially of the poor continues to widen and deepen as society advances. Evidently the solution is not to be found in cures. It must be found in prevention. Prevention, in turn, must be found in better adjustments in all human relations in order

that so many persons may not stumble and fall in the struggle for normal existence.

The task of preventing poverty illustrates the complexity of modern human relations. Poverty is always a result of not having enough money to pay for a normal standard of living. Automatically, therefore, the prevention of poverty is related to the problem of the distribution of economic dividends. Economic dividends are distributed by means of wages, interest, rent, the sale of goods, the dividends on investments, or gifts. All of these methods of distributing economic rewards are involved in complex human relations. Each of these relationships has been discussed elsewhere in this volume. Each of them would need to be discussed at great length if adequate consideration were to be given to the problem of the prevention of poverty. Space will not permit elaboration. What will be done will be to select a few samples of poverty and attempt, by a short analysis of each, to show how complex their causes are, how several causal factors are usually found in combination, and how each is so interwoven with influences that lie beyond the individual's control that it is a social problem.

Low economic income is the single greatest obvious cause of poverty. The necessities of life cost money and persons with sharply restricted incomes do not have money to purchase those necessities. If low economic income is one of the causes of poverty, then one of the ways to prevent poverty should be to increase the economic income of those who are poverty-stricken. This is not easily done. The distribution of income is tied up with the most complex phase of society's organization—the market. Minimum wage laws may help, but minimum wage laws do not guarantee continuous work to incompetent workmen, or even to competent workmen in times of industrial depression. Honest and industrious workmen, anxious to work, are often out of jobs because of no fault of their own. Factories close down and incomes stop. The costs of living must go on. Poverty and even pauperism follow such incidents.

Poverty often follows accidents and sickness. The father

may be earning sufficient income to support his family fairly well, but not enough to accumulate a bank account or to carry disability insurance. An accident befalls him or he has a long siege of sickness, maybe is killed or dies. His family is thrown headlong into poverty. The mother and immature children are compelled to go into some wage-earning pursuits. The absence of the mother from the home causes the neglect of the children, who may, because of this fact, develop into incompetents, or even delinquents. Thus a single unforeseen accident may start a train of poverty that will last for a number of generations.

Ignorance, illiteracy, and defective personality keep many persons from economic success. For these things the individual may not be in the least responsible. Lack of income on the part of parents handicaps the children in education and life outlook. Poverty thus, as well as riches, becomes an inheritance.

All the physical and mental defects discussed in other sections of this chapter are dominant causes of poverty. Feeble-minded persons, the deaf, blind, and crippled, cannot compete successfully in the economic struggle of life with the normal members of society. They, therefore, in large numbers fall into poverty, although they are not individually responsible for their defects.

Various attempts have been made to list and measure the causes of poverty. This is impossible because, as we have just seen, the causes may lie back in past generations or be conditioned by forces way beyond the immediate community where the poverty itself appears. In Warner's *American Charities* elaborate tables are given, classifying the causes of about 250,000 cases of poverty in 83 cities. The conclusion is that 72 per cent of all cases are due to misfortune. That is, the causes in the vast majority of cases lie beyond the control or influence of those who become victims of the operation of these causes. When we recognize that personal misconduct, as well as misfortune, is largely if not wholly a product of social environment, it becomes clear that poverty is universally a result of maladjusted human relations.

Poverty is a part of our social organization, not an inevitable part in the sense of being predestined, but a part in the sense that it is a phenomenon of social maladjustment, rather than of personal fault. Queen and Mann assemble their data on Social Pathology under three main heads: (1) family disorganization, (2) economic disorganization, (3) broken health. They name as other major phases of the problem: (4) educational disorganization, (5) political disorganization, (6) misuse of leisure time, (7) neighborhood and community disorganization, (8) migration, (9) race friction, (10) international conflict. It is impossible in the limited space here to discuss any of these phases of social disorganization. Suffice it to say that the problems of poverty are solvable only in terms of the organization of society in such a way as to care for the normal needs of all its members by the normal distribution of the opportunities and burdens of life among all members of society.

Summary and Conclusions. Every community, and society at large, pays for its social maladjustments. Paupers and defective persons are a direct burden upon organized society. The incompetent, ignorant, sick, lazy, and ne'er-do-well may not be given alms, but are nevertheless burdens to some social group, due to the fact that they are unable to carry their share of the load. Furthermore they create all sorts of maladjustments in the institutional life of society. Society could well afford to spend elaborate time and money in seeing that the sources which generate defectiveness and dependency are eliminated.

There is not a single clear-cut cause of poverty known for which the remedy is not also known. The difficulties are chiefly that the causes are not clear-cut, but are involved in the interrelations of a very complex social organization, and that the vast majority of people are ignorant about this organization. The crying need for this ancient and widespread ill of poverty, is a knowledge of human relations at least equal to our knowledge of the physical machinery of life. We can span our greatest rivers with bridges and send wireless messages around the world, but we cannot successfully keep all

members of even small communities above the poverty line. The reason is we are intelligent about mechanics, but grossly ignorant about human relations.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

QUEEN, S. A. and MANN, D. M., *Social Pathology*, Preface and Chaps. XII, XXVIII, and XXIX.

WARNER, A. G., *American Charities*, Chaps. III, VI and VII.

GODDARD, H. H., *The Feeble-Minded*.

ELWOOD, C. A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chap. VIII.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Would it be possible to make all persons equal physically, mentally, and morally?
2. Should a person give alms to a beggar on the street?
3. How do poor people handicap the whole community?
4. Is it true that everyone is insane in some way?
5. Should feeble-minded persons be permitted to marry or circulate in communities?
6. How does a society always pay the cost of its own maladjustments?

CHAPTER XVIII

HUMAN RELATIONS AND CRIME

A study of crime, in many ways, acquaints us with the real facts about our social organization. Just as a person often learns much about the human body and its normal functioning because of a spell of sickness, so society often learns most about itself because of its maladjustments. Criminals are either persons with defective personalities or persons who are victims of unfortunate social situations. Criminals are not merely the social débris of civilization. They are a part of the community, just as a sore is a part of the physical body. As such they must be analyzed, or diagnosed, their symptoms discovered, and the cures and preventions found for them.

Crimes are personal acts which violate legal codes. If we are to understand crimes and criminals, therefore, we must bring to bear everything that is known about psychology, sociology, and about the legal organization of society. It is not enough merely to assume that criminals are bad persons, for there are cases where this is not true. But even if such an assumption were correct, we would still have the task of discovering why some persons are bad and how we can eliminate the forces which make them bad.

It is sometimes said that every community has just the amount of crime that it deserves. The idea lying back of this statement is that crime results from maladjustments between the forces of the community which make people what they are and the standards of conduct which the community sets and expects persons to measure up to. Both of these sets of forces that make the character of the criminal are systems of human relations. Every phase of the problems of crime, therefore, whether it be the problem of the cause of crime, the treatment of the criminal, criminal responsibility,

or the problem of the prevention of crime, is indirectly a study of every-day community life.

Crimes are, in a measure, a result of social progress. Crimes are violations of legal codes. Delinquencies are violations of the moral codes of society. Any advance or change in the moral standards of society, automatically classifies as delinquencies acts which were at one time not considered immoral. The passage of a law forbidding acts which have become a part of the habits and customs of great masses of people makes the continuance of those habits and customs criminal. An American jurist made the statement that the passage of the national pure-food law made 50,000 criminals in one year. These 50,000 violators of the law, however, were doing nothing except what they had been doing the year before the law was passed.

Great care should be taken not to assume that a greater number of arrests, fines, and imprisonments is sure proof of moral decadence. In a great many cases they may merely be the result of the operation of new standards of conduct which have been written into law, for the violation of which people are penalized. It is only when the more serious crimes, such as murder, arson, and grand larceny, increase that we are justified in assuming that the fundamental and traditional morals of society are breaking down.

There is another way in which social progress causes an increase in crimes. As society advances it becomes ever more complex. The human contacts and human relations of a person of affairs to-day are a thousand times more complex and intricate than they were five thousand years ago, or even a century ago. Life is fuller to-day than it was then, but it is more difficult to live it successfully. The hurry and bustle of present-day existence causes many more persons to break under the strain and stress of modern life than was the case in primitive or even in pioneer society. The complexity and interdependence of modern life has made necessary a reign of statutory laws. The result is that it is much more difficult for a person to walk the straight and narrow way to-day than ever before.

The causes of crime are very complex. There is probably no more difficult problem in human society than the problem of crime. Society has apparently had criminals from the beginning of time and yet has done less to solve this one problem than any other. This is due to the fact that all crimes are a combination of defects in social organization and defects in personal character. We know less about these two things than anything else on earth. Criminals come from all classes of people, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, the men and the women. Judge Ben Linsey, a well-known authority on juvenile delinquency, says that all persons have committed crimes at some time in their lives. If this be true, and it probably is in a very large measure, then the criminal is different from the normal person only in degree.

Probably the best classification of criminals that can be suggested is (1) defective criminals, (2) professional criminals, and (3) occasional criminals. This classification suggests somewhat the causes of crime. The defective criminal may be insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, or psychopathic. The habitual or professional criminal is one whose personality or character has been built out of a set of constant evil influences. The occasional criminal is generally a person who accidentally commits crime or who in a very provoking situation temporarily loses control of his normal self and commits a wrong act. We shall take up each of these types of criminals and briefly analyze the causes for their existence.

In various studies that have been made it has been discovered that from 30 to 70 per cent of all delinquents are mentally defective. Dr. William Healy made a careful study of 1,000 offenders who had committed many more than one crime each. In 668 of these cases he could check the family history of the offender. He found specific mental defects in 245 cases, or 36.6 per cent, and in a number of other cases found cause for faulty development. Dr. H. H. Goddard made a study of sixteen reformatories and institutions for delinquents in the United States and estimated the percentage of the inmates who were mentally defective. The percentages of defectives

ranged from 28 to 89. Numerous similar studies have been made and about the same conclusions drawn.

Where the criminal is mentally defective it is a legitimate question whether he should be considered as a moral delinquent in the sense of being held personally responsible for his delinquent acts. Such cases are not results of moral turpitude, but of incapacity to meet the normal struggle for success in life. The solution, therefore, lies not in punishment of the individual, but in handling such cases by the methods outlined in Chapter XVII.

Professional or habitual criminals are persons who are almost constantly out of adjustment with the normal modes of behavior. Few of them really follow crime as a profession. Few of them are habitual in the sense that they have built specific habits which lead them into crime time after time. What is really meant by habitual criminals is that they are persons who violate the law often. Such persons, upon careful study, would very often be found to be feeble-minded or psychopathic in some way. Others of them would be persons who during their youth failed to have generated in them the normal impulses to make their way in the world by diligently following one of the sanctioned occupations or professions of life. Still others may have been victims of some upheaval in life's affairs which threw them out of the normal channels of life. In all of these cases they have become drifters and so seek to make their way in the world by devious and unsanctioned types of conduct.

The occasional criminals make up a small per cent of the jail and prison population. The fact that they are usually first offenders tends to mitigate the sentences pronounced upon them. Why they commit crimes at all would be as difficult to explain as it would be to explain why some persons get angry easier or have worse luck than others. This class of criminals serves better than any other to show how relative a phenomenon crime is. They are often not different from others except in minor ways or because of specific peculiar circumstances of life. If this fact is not taken into consideration at the time of the first criminal offense, it may be the occasion

for the development of a bitter attitude on the part of the offender, which will lead him into further misconduct and possibly into a life of repeated crimes.

Many criminal careers begin in childhood or early youth. About 40 per cent of the persons committed to prisons in the United States are under twenty-one years of age. Even this fact does not reveal the full extent of juvenile delinquency, for comparatively few of the total number of young offenders are committed to prison. Nor does the number of young offenders reveal the full extent the period of youth plays in generating criminality, for it is during childhood and youth that habits and attitudes are made which fruit in conduct in later years.

The five types of offenses for which persons under eighteen years of age are committed to prison by the courts are, in the order of their frequency: (1) truancy, (2) incorrigibility, (3) delinquency, (4) burglary, and (5) larceny. The offenses for which persons under this age are least frequently committed to prison are (1) contempt, (2) adultery, (3) drunkenness, (4) murder, and (5) assault. From these facts it is apparent that criminals of immature years are not often so much vicious as they are merely wayward.

The causes of crime are more clearly revealed in the case of juvenile delinquents than in the case of adult offenders. This is because the fallacious notions about inherent badness are not so often confused with the play of environmental forces during the period of youth as they are in later periods of life. Poverty during youth is clearly seen to be a powerful factor in breeding crime. The youth's life is restricted, often his body stunted, and quite generally his normal desires thwarted because of poverty. His parents are forced to work away from home and often he is forced into self-support while yet too young to meet the struggle for normal life.

The evil effects of broken homes are known in the case of juvenile offenders. The lack of education is recognized as a handicap. Failure to have a normal play life, or failure to be furnished with proper recreational opportunities, is recognized as cause for juvenile delinquencies. The influence of evil

associates is taken into account in the case of young offenders. All of these factors are important in making the character and personality of an individual, but when the person has developed to maturity they are all discounted in favor of the easy assumptions that the adult is strictly responsible for his moral conduct.

Not only are the forces which largely account for conduct in after life playing upon the life of young people during the period of their habit and attitude formation, but the treatment which they receive at the hands of society, once they have stumbled and fallen, is a part of the process of making criminals out of them. To put a youth through the legal procedure of a court trial, to place him among hardened criminals while he is awaiting trial, and especially to commit him to a prison or chain gang, constitutes the surest way to educate him to a criminal career. Such an individual is a victim of a faulty environment. What he needs are the advantages of as nearly a perfect environment as can be found or provided. He should be trained as a personality in the making and all the facilities of education, recreation, occupational training, and moral influences possible should be a part of his environment during the period of his incarceration.

Greater progress in court procedure and criminal treatment has been made in dealing with juvenile delinquency than in any other field of criminal procedure and treatment. Probation officers are attached to the courts whose duties are to investigate the life histories of the youthful offenders and to analyze the environments from which they come. These officers appear with the delinquent at the time of trial and often exercise constructive supervision over him during the period of detention, probation, and parole. Medical and psychological experts are called upon to help diagnose his case. He is often placed in an institution whose specific purpose is to reclaim him for society. He is seldom subjected to capital punishment.

It would without doubt be well if the schemes of criminal procedure and treatment for adult offenders could be sharply modified from what they now are to conform to those which

are gradually coming to be used in the case of juvenile offenders.

What should be the attitude of a community, state, or nation toward its criminals? Among primitive peoples and in early civilizations the criminals were thought to be possessed of evil spirits. The proper treatment was thought to be that of the ordeal. An example of the ordeal was that the criminal was thrown into the water with his hands tied. If the spirit was bad or Providence refused to dispossess the person of the evil spirit he sank and was drowned. If he was innocent or was dispossessed by Providence he would float and thus be saved. Later criminality was thought to be an inherent characteristic of the personality of the criminal. He was said to be just naturally bad. The proper treatment was to make him suffer as much as his crime had caused others to suffer. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" was the theory of justice in the case. Retaliation or revenge satisfied the one to whom wrong was done.

Gradually we have come to look upon criminals not as possessed with devils and not born to a life of crime. We recognize that their characters and personalities are built by the same processes as all others' characters and personalities, but that they are such poor structures as to constitute sources of grave menace to the harmony and well-being of society. We no longer leave the problem of punishment or justice to individual revenge or the blood feud. The government provides for the handling of the problems arising out of the lives and practices of criminals, just as it handles the problems connected with industry or education.

Even with our improved attitudes toward criminals, there is no social problem upon which there is less clear thinking than there is upon the problem of crime. We may claim that we have substituted reformation for revenge and retaliation, but our treatment of criminals belies our claims. The average person thinks that the criminal "is getting just what he deserves" when he is severely punished. Arguments that punishment must be practiced in order to deter criminal acts, while probably partially correct, are not offered on the

basis of convictions concerning social policy nearly so often as they are mere excuses for a spirit of revenge.

What we need in order to prepare the way for wise and constructive criminal procedure and treatment is enlightenment concerning the forces and influences which go into personality and character building. When this enlightenment is developed we will be in a position to see that a delinquent is a morally sick person, whose cure can be affected only by subjecting him to the types of influences which are different from those which led him into crime, and which influences have been absent from his environment during both youth and maturity.

How should society handle criminals? The delinquent members of a group, in many ways, give rise to the most difficult problems of society. These people violate the legal and moral codes of the group and so tend to destroy its integrity. They are thought of as bad or mean and we therefore do not want them in our homes, schools, churches, industries, or communities. If, however, we eliminate them from the associations which make and mold the normal lives of others, we either handicap them further or present ourselves the problem of constructing for them a more perfect environment in a colony or institution of their own. This is very difficult to do because in such a colony or institution they are robbed of the associations of good people, and no matter how perfect a physical environment may be provided them they cannot learn the arts and practices of civic life without the associations of normal and good human beings.

How little we are accomplishing in the solution of the problem of delinquency is indicated by the fact that we have a greater number of criminals per population than the European countries have; that crime, especially juvenile delinquency, is increasing, and that we are spending about a billion dollars each year in the maintenance of police systems, courts, and prisons. On January 1, 1922, we had approximately 200,000 persons in jails, prisons, and road gangs. At that time we had less than 300,000 students in our colleges and universities. In 1910, 121 out of every 100,000 of our population were sent to prison.

The social machinery for handling the so-called criminal population is elaborate and intricate. It consists of codes of criminal law, police forces, courts, jails, and prisons. We may feel outraged by the heinous crimes committed by criminals or scandalized by the treatment of criminals by society, but as citizens our task is to see that public sentiment, public laws, and public agencies and institutions deal with our delinquents according to the best knowledge we have about the building of human character. The problem is twofold—how to handle the problem so as to lessen its menace to society and how to deal with the criminal so as to do no violence to our democratic convictions of the inherent worth and value of every individual.

In the United States the assumption of our scheme of justice is that a person is innocent until proved guilty by court procedure. The peculiar thing is that we provide a public prosecutor to prove his guilt, but do not provide a public defender to assist him in proving his innocence. We provide trial by jury, but insist that the jurymen must not have knowledge of the circumstances of the crime or hold any theory of punishment for the act committed. We place the condemned in an isolated prison where the public seldom sees him and knows little of the conditions of his life while there. We still practice corporal punishment in some prisons, though as adults we know that such violence cannot remake human character. We recognize that crime increases with the increasing complexity of social adjustments to be made and yet refuse to admit that a community is largely responsible for the acts of its criminals.

It is because it seems necessary to remove the criminal from contact with society and because we have so thoroughly objectified our methods of handling the criminal that the problems of crime and the criminal are so difficult to handle by means of an enlightened public opinion. No method of punishment seems yet to have been devised which lessens the amount of crime committed. The theory is quite prevalent that capital and corporal punishment and incarceration tend to lessen crime, but with our continuous increase in violations of the law this is apparently an unproven theory. This does not justify us, however, in doing nothing when a crime is com-

mitted. The two practical modes of attack would seem to be to learn, in as far as possible, how to prevent crimes and to learn how to reclaim the criminal for a useful life in society.

Crime is always the result of a set of circumstances over which the criminal has no control or is a result of a defective heredity. A court procedure that tries to do nothing more than discover who committed the criminal act and a prison treatment that does not try to rectify the defective personality of the criminal are not attacking the problems of crime and the criminal in a constructive fashion. Under such practices, "the defense of society," which is admittedly the chief object of all criminal justice, will be but a defense against the proven guilty and only for a short time. The return of any of the criminals to the community with their old or even more defective personalities will constitute a greater danger to social well-being than was the case before they were convicted. The greatest safeguards to society would be to search out and eliminate the causes of crime and to reform or remake the characters of those who have gone wrong. The elimination of the causes would not only lessen actual crime, but would assist in making better citizens out of the thousands who are influenced in a lesser degree by these same causes.

The prevention of crime involves a consideration of all the factors which go into molding the character and personality of individuals. Home life must be safeguarded. Broken homes furnish far more than their proportional share of delinquents. Bad heredity, which is transmitted by parents, affords many of the organic defects which are so prevalent among criminals. The community in which a child is reared, the opportunities for constructive play and recreation, even the capacity of the parents properly to support the family are all elements in character-building. The Sunday school, which Judge Ben Linsey of the Denver Juvenile Court says is the greatest preventive to crime in America; the public school as a community, its course of study, compulsory attendance in it, the correct functioning of the truant officer; the providing of public playgrounds by the municipality; the elimination of areas of prostitutes; the suppression of illicit liquor traffic; the elim-

ination of night and blind-alley occupations for children; the teaching of morals and ethics in the school, home, and press; and in fact everything that goes to make individual, home, and community life good or bad—are involved in the task of preventing delinquency.

Crime and its causes offer us one of the best examples possible of the necessity of getting at our major civic and social problems by using all the resources of life to eliminate problems that confront the law and sometimes leave it practically helpless. Society is sometimes slow to take the constructive measures necessary to assuring normal community life, but the billion dollars which the nation spends in criminal procedure each year would probably go much further in solving the problem by preventing crime than it does in suppressing it.

Unless or until communities have learned how to prevent all crime it will be necessary to incarcerate some of those who violate the laws which are made to safeguard the public good. The issues in regard to persons who become prisoners are, what is the best thing to do for the prisoner and what is the best thing to do for society. The idea that the prisoner should be treated humanely is not one of weak sentimentality, but one of social efficiency. The prisoner has been taken out of the normal economic and social channels of life. In only a very few cases will he be executed or kept in prison for the remainder of his life. The only practical question for an enlightened public to ask itself, is what is the best thing to do with the prisoner in order that he may be a better man and thus a lesser menace to the community when he returns to it? Incarceration accomplishes the defense of society for a while and constitutes as severe a punishment as needs be conceived if we eliminate the spirit of revenge from our concept. The prison treatment should therefore be one of reclamation for normal life. The prison environment should be the most perfect one imaginable. The criminal is largely a product of bad environment and bad influence. He can be made better only by furnishing him a better chance than he had outside the prison and by changing his attitude and habits of life thereby.

The constructing of as nearly perfect a social situation as

possible by which to remake the character and personalities of criminals requires the following procedure:

1. Medical examination and treatment. Probably 25 per cent of criminals are noticeably mentally or physically defective and all should be given as nearly perfect health as possible.
2. Rudimentary education. A great number of criminals are illiterate. They should be given the tools generally furnished by the common school with which to make their fight upward.
3. Trade or occupational education. One of the chief causes of crime is failure on the part of the criminal successfully to perform a part of the economic task of society and thereby failure to gain the self-respect that comes with such performance. As part of such instruction, economic enterprise can be carried on and the prison made self-supporting.
4. Moral and civic education. Crimes are always violations of the civil and moral codes of society. Prisoners should be given as complete an understanding and appreciation of the values of moral and civic co-operation as can possibly be taught. As a part of the education prison self-government should be practiced in some form.
5. Normal and constructive recreation should be provided and encouraged. Teamwork, team spirit and loyalty, fair play and healthful physical exercise should all be a part of a constructive recreation program.
6. Indeterminate or indefinite sentences should be universal, in order that the person may be returned to society when his reclamation has been accomplished, and not before.
7. A follow-up system should be provided to care for the person after he has been returned to society in order that he may become a part of normal social life as quickly as possible.

Summary and Conclusions. The problem of crime is inter-related with practically every other problem of society. It is one of the most difficult and complex problems of society.

Until we understand all about personal character-building and are able to organize and control a perfect social environment for all persons, we will have criminals. Criminals are persons who occasionally or habitually are so out of step with the normal procession of life that society must take measures to bring them into line.

Crime is seven times more prevalent in the United States now, in proportion to population, than it was sixty years ago. Juvenile delinquency has increased more rapidly than adult delinquency, and major crimes, such as murder and arson, have increased more rapidly than minor offenses. Apparently there are influences at work in society which make it more difficult to live in keeping with the moral demands of society to-day than ever before.

The two major causes of the increase in crime are, that the conditions of life are much more complex to-day than ever before, and that we have more laws than we have ever had before. Life is more difficult in the sense that there is a greater demand that individuals conform to standards set by others.

As the conditions of living come to be controlled more and more by the group, the greater becomes the responsibility of the group for furnishing to the individual the facilities for successful living. Furthermore, as we move from a life of comparative individual freedom to a life of social co-operation, society must accept a greater responsibility for the conduct of the individual. There is no field of human behavior in which this lesson needs more to be learned than in that of crime. Society is responsible for criminal acts.

Society must accept the responsibility for the criminals which it generates in two ways. It must practice constructive community building so as to prevent crime and it must accept the responsibility and accomplish the task of remaking the broken characters and personalities of those who have committed crimes. Before it will accomplish either of these two things it must learn that crime is a product of either one or both of two things—mental defects or defective human relations.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

AMES, E. W. and ELDRED, A., *Community Civics*, Chap. X.

BURCH, H. R., and PATTERSON, A. M., *Problems of American Democracy*, Chap. XXV.

LEWIS, B., *The Offender*, Part II, Chap. I.

PARMELEE, M., *Criminology*, Chaps. III, X, XXIII, and XXX.

SUTHERLAND, E. H., *Criminology*.

WINES, F. H., *Punishment and Reformation*, Chap. XIV.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Why do some people commit crime?
2. Is every one a criminal at some time in his life?
3. Does defectiveness predestine a person to a life of crime?
4. What do you think of the idea of making the punishment fit the crime?
5. What are the objects of prison treatment?
6. Do you believe in capital punishment?
7. Do you believe in corporal punishment of prisoners?
8. Outline what you would consider to be an ideal system of prison treatment.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CITIZEN AND GREAT ECONOMIC ISSUES

Every adult member of society who is not totally defective should participate in the economic tasks of society. In primitive society and early civilization every member of the group, except very small children and very old persons, assisted in the economic tasks of the group. Old and decrepit persons were even sometimes not allowed to live when they had reached that stage in life where they could not contribute to the tasks of gaining food supplies. Children began to work at a very early age in behalf of the group's maintenance. In those days all economic enterprise was carried on within the family or tribe and all economic needs were supplied within these groups. To-day our economic enterprises are conducted on the basis of a definitely recognized division of labor and specialization. Except in agriculture and household duties, if one works at all he works in a definite occupation or profession. This fact makes it more difficult for everyone to participate in economic endeavor. Furthermore, the interdependence of specialists, the growth of trade and commerce, and the accumulation of wealth and wealth inheritance make it possible for some persons to escape work altogether. Nevertheless, a person is not a good citizen who is not prepared or who refuses to perform his share of society's labor. A good citizen always has an occupation or a profession. He may work with his hands or with his brain in the production of economic goods; in the field of art, literature, or science; in the management and conduct of business; in the field of politics or even in the field of religion. On one side of the balance are all the numerous tasks to be done in life and on the other are the people, especially the healthy adults, by whom these tasks must be done. Unless an individual spends his time and energy in supplying the sat-

isfactions for human needs and desires of other persons than himself he must be accounted an undesirable and inefficient citizen. Such conduct is not permitted on the playground or in any other walk of life where relationships are personal and obligations clearly recognized. Idleness not only fails to build the human character of the individual, but makes of him a slacker and parasite on others. His desires and needs must be satisfied, even as if he worked, and others must, therefore, carry him on their backs.

A large proportion of both our physical and cultural needs are supplied by what is known as wealth, *i.e.*, by goods and products that are physical in nature. We not only accumulate such products during harvest and store them for non-producing seasons, but accumulate them in the form of materials, machines, buildings, and equipment to be used for later consumption and for use in further production. It is because of this capacity to accumulate a surplus of consumable goods and productive equipment that we no longer suffer famines and starvation such as are common among primitive peoples. It is by saving a portion of the wealth on hand at one time that persons are able later to accumulate more wealth. A person who saves a portion of what he has for future use is said to be thrifty, and such practices are so valuable in maintaining and sustaining life that thrift is extolled as one of our prime virtues. In a complex society such as ours, however, we can form very unjust judgments if we assume that the amount or absence of accumulated wealth is a sure index to thrift. Thrift inheres just as much in earning as it does in saving. It is quite possible for one person by fortunate circumstances to come into possession of enough wealth that he can satisfy all his wants and yet have a surplus for savings. It is equally possible for another person by unfortunate circumstances never to come into possession of sufficient wealth even to satisfy his needs for life and health. It is not a virtue to lay aside money with which to endow your children at the time of their marriage or at the time of your death if by so doing you rob them of education, health, and even life by restricting expenditures during their infancy and childhood. Thriftless-

ness and shiftlessness are not necessarily synonymous. They are such only when the one is the result of the other. On the other hand, some of the most shiftless people we have neither sacrifice nor work. Certainly they cannot lay claim to good citizenship by right of the virtues of thrift.

It is only when the accumulation of wealth incurs sacrifice of non-essentials or the temporary sacrifice even of essentials in order to obtain later a greater gain that it is virtuous. Thrift, however—real thrift, in the sense of working productively, sacrificing some of the present for the future and accumulating capital for the promotion of greater production—is certainly a necessary virtue in our society with its division of labor and world markets. Unless, therefore, we mistake the mere ownership of wealth as constituting thrift, a good citizen ought to be thrifty.

If it is desirable that every citizen have an occupation or profession and be thrifty, it is then incumbent upon society to see that everyone is trained for a practice of thrift. It is also desirable that society eliminate from its life the influences which stimulate persons to idleness and encourage them in wastefulness. It is fairly easy to do the first of these two things, for our schools, both secondary and higher, can be used to train for vocations and professions. The second seems harder to accomplish, for both absence of economic opportunity and superabundance of wealth fail to encourage either thrift or endeavor. The lack of economic opportunity holds out no rewards for work, and a superabundance of wealth satisfies all wants and desires without work. Dire poverty at one pole and vast inherited fortunes at the other pole set the boundaries within which fall all our problems of economic efficiency, well-being, and justice.

Individual and social well-being, to-day more than ever before, depend upon economic justice. The virtues of thrift and industry are laudable but simple in comparison with the virtues of social justice. One may practice these simple virtues and "walk humbly before God," but he must go further if he would obey the Golden Rule or fulfill the Commandment, to love his neighbor as himself. A person may labor

hard and diligently and accumulate savings for himself and his family's need, but never lend his voice or influence to seeing that right relationships are established between men. And yet the very basis of our existence depends upon economic relationships. His practice of individual virtues arises out of his early formed habits, and his ideas of individual justice are carry-overs from a day when the family group set the limit of his social and economic contacts. But in the world in which he lives to-day his habits must be supplemented by a knowledge of complex economic factors which lie outside his immediate environment, and his ideals of virtue and justice must include within them all those economic relationships which constitute modern economic society.

It is impossible to-day to say that economic justice inheres in seeing that every man gets what he produces, for very few men produce any one thing in its entirety. It is only when the product, having passed sometimes through a dozen processes and a hundred hands, is delivered to the community that it is completely produced. It is, therefore, only the community which can judge what is justice between its numerous producers, and even the community can not possibly tell just what the comparative contribution of each producer has been. It is because we have moved so quickly from small self-sufficient economic units to large and interdependent units of production and distribution that we have all our difficult problems of economic injustice. We have worshiped and cherished individual freedom so long that we insist on carrying it over into fields where the objects to be obtained are not individual at all, but social. It is imperative that we construct new concepts of justice in order that they may work to ends of justice in a society of complex interrelationships. A democracy depends not only upon the activity and enlightenment of its citizens, but upon their happiness and contentment as well. A citizen cannot be happy or contented if he lives under a sense of injustice over which not he but the larger society has control.

Any large number of people living on income just above the level of starvation constitutes a menace to social stability.

In a society based upon a universal price and market régime, human wants constitute one side of the equation and economic income constitutes the other side. There is no one thing upon which economic justice so much depends as upon purchasing power. All the accomplishments of industrial inventions and all the attainments of large-scale production are real social economics only provided they yield social dividends, and social dividends are to be measured in the standards of living of the general population. Without question our standards of living have been raised among most of our people as a result of large-scale production, but the rise has been very uneven between different groups and this has led to some of our greatest economic injustices.

In the most recent and probably the most trustworthy study of the "Distribution of Income in the United States," made by the National Bureau of Economic Research, it was shown that the richest 1 per cent of our population received 14 per cent of our national income and that the poorest 86 per cent received only 40 per cent of the national income. That is, 14 per cent, in 1918, received 60 per cent of the national income. In a slightly less recent study Professor King of Wisconsin University showed that 2 per cent owned 60 per cent of the nation's wealth and 65 per cent owned only 6 per cent. He further showed that the concentration of both wealth and income is becoming greater every year. The following is a quotation from his study: "If all estimates cited are correct, it indicates that, since 1896, there has occurred a marked concentration of income in the hands of the very rich; that the poor have relatively lost but little; but that the middle class has been the chief sufferer." This means that, while the poor are not becoming poorer, a larger and larger per cent of our population is becoming poor because of the transfer of wealth and income from the middle class to the rich.

Even if a greater number of our population were not becoming actually poorer, the fact that some were becoming enormously rich would establish a basis for discontent. In 1919, 248 persons received over \$1,000,000 income each. One person received \$34,000,000, two received over \$16,000,000, and five

received more than \$5,000,000 each. At the other end of the scale 86 per cent of all persons who received any income at all received less than \$2,000 each. Recent estimates of the amount of income necessary to support an average family in health and reasonable comfort place it at from \$1,700 to \$2,500. Whichever figure we choose, it is apparent that great masses of our population are living sufficiently close to the poverty line to be discontented. From 80 to 90 per cent of all persons engaged in mechanical and manufacturing pursuits are wage-earners, a vast majority of whom not only do not own any production property, but not even their homes. In the rural districts 38.1 per cent of all farmers are tenants and 44 per cent of all improved acres are farmed by tenants. Whether we are considering economic justice or are merely concerned with forestalling a widespread and menacing discontent, the fact of the great and growing concentration of wealth in the hands of the minority will be easily recognized as an issue of good citizenship.

Unless the control of production is fairly well distributed, it is impossible to keep a society democratic. An aristocracy can operate upon the principle that only those who control should be satisfied, but a democracy must see that satisfaction and contentment are widespread. In slavery or serfdom the under man can be largely disregarded, but in a government by all the people every individual is of significance. Power to-day is largely economic power. Monopolies are therefore inimical to democracy, as well as hindrances to the growth of wealth. Monopolies have power to fix prices, and yet it is through prices that the essentials of living are purchased. Of course a monopoly cannot set its price so high as to completely eliminate purchasers from the market, but it is surprising how persistently people remain as purchasers in the market even though the price is rising. A monopoly is a matter of control of or power over goods or services. No one would care for a monopoly of things no one wanted. It is exactly the goods which all or a large portion of the people need or want that constitutes a monopoly most powerful. In a monopoly one person or a few persons have sources of wealth or power which

others lack. It is autocracy in control of goods. Monopoly was impossible before the day of exchange in commerce or before the day of great wealth accumulation. It is not the result of thrift or earnings, for these are individual virtues for the sake of sustaining and supporting the one who practices them. Monopoly does not seek to store up goods for future consumption or to increase the wealth of society. It only seeks to control the present supply of goods and to make the highest possible gain by disposing of them.

Comparable to monopoly as the control of power and a result of the concentration of the major portion of wealth in the hands of comparatively few, is the practice of perpetuating economic inequalities by passing wealth on through family inheritance. If it is impossible to insure physical and mental equality between individuals in the population, surely a democracy ought to guarantee equality of economic opportunity. A nation is not guaranteeing the freedom of economic enterprise when one child inherits a coal mine, an oil well, or a factory and another inherits nothing. If monopolies are inimical to social well-being because they eliminate competition, inherited wealth and income are inimical to both competition and democracy because they make impossible equality of economic opportunity. Not only do the children of the rich, by inherited proprietorship, become immediate possessors of economic power, but they have the financial means by which to equip themselves educationally to succeed. It would actually seem nearer to equality between individuals to give the accumulated wealth to those who have the poorer physical and mental equipment with which to compete.

If inherited wealth carried with it the virtues of earning and thrift it would at least give to society a continuance of these habits and characteristics—that is, provided its accumulation was first obtained by use of these virtues. But when it stimulates to idleness and sometimes reckless spending it does not even benefit its recipient. Andrew Carnegie, himself a great accumulator and owner of wealth, said, "The almighty dollar bequeathed to children is an almighty curse. No man has a right to handicap his son with such a burden as great

wealth." It would seem that men of great courage, energy, and attainment who believe that their chief training for success was that they had to work and practice thrift when young, would not want to rob their children of the same training. Peculiarly enough, those who insist on thus handicapping their own off-spring are the greatest preachers of the dignity and value of work and the chief extollers of the virtues of thrift and sacrifice.

Inheritance of wealth is a means, not an end. Its purpose is to pass down from one generation to another the accumulated wealth of past economic accomplishments. Its object is not to relieve young people from work, but to assure them of opportunities to become useful and protect them against want. It is exactly like the passing on of any other cultural attainment, art, education, science, or literature, and as such should not be subject to monopoly or purely individual acquirement.

Probably the greatest menace of inherited family wealth in a democracy is that it tends to perpetuate and even widen the breach between economic classes, and the growth of divergent economic classes is inimical to a democratic state. In such a situation certainly equality does not exist. The freedom of many is restricted and fraternity is difficult if not impossible.

Real economic progress does not inhere in the development of methods of technical production or even in the accumulation of wealth, but in the economic and social well-being of the people. Wealth consists of those goods which have power to satisfy human needs and wants. People ought, therefore, to accumulate it to live and not live merely to accumulate it. Its accumulation is not the object of life, but one of the means of life. The economic security and well-being of a community and the richness of its intellectual development depends upon the level of its economic condition. Likewise, the diffusion of its economic power will measure the diffusion of its intellectual and cultural development. It is necessary, therefore, that the community for its own efficiency and development assume a large responsibility for and control of its wealth.

It would seem to be legitimate to ask, "Why, after we have discovered the greatest sources of wealth of all time, invented

industrial technologies which reduce labor and increase wealth, eliminated wastes in industry by scientific management and industrial engineering, do we still have persons suffering from overwork, child labor, the slums, ignorance, and poverty?" The answer is that these very attainments have increased the wastes of luxurious consumption, the absolute dependence of millions upon organized machine production, and the inequalities of distribution. What the community demands from all these accomplishments are economic and social satisfactions. The difficulty is that in giving due diligence and necessary attention to the accumulation of wealth we have come to measure value in terms of the means and methods of attainments rather than measure the values of the attainments or objects themselves. Means, methods, and materials are valuable, but an undue emphasis upon them tends to sacrifice all other values. Furthermore, if all our time and attention is given to technical production, little or none can be left for any other attainments. Our mechanical inventions and our material and economic developments have so completely outstripped our social and political developments that we are on the highroad to very serious social and political instability, unless our knowledge and ethics in social and political matters are rapidly adjusted to fit the needs of our material and financial situation.

In a complex society the government must assume a large control in regulating the relationship between men and must collect large sums of money with which to carry on its functions. In the economic stage of direct appropriations there was not and could not be a regulation of production. The methods of distribution generally being communistic, regulated themselves. Often the successful hunter turned his products over to others and himself took what was left. In a complex economic society communism would be impossible. All members of society do not gather around the same table or fireplace. The distribution of goods is between persons who never see or know one another and takes place by means of material and economic machinery which is thoroughly impersonal in its functions. Some agency objective to the

party at both ends of the complex exchange must supervise and regulate the transfer. This agency can be none other than the government. It does so by all kinds of commercial laws, agencies, bureaus, and commissions which were described in Chapters IV and V.

There are other reasons than the direct regulation of trade, commercial and industrial relations that demand the expansion of government. Many, in fact almost all of them, are incident to the changes in life's conditions due to changed economic pursuits and methods. The machine process, running at high speed, subjects the persons within its operation to a rigid and killing monotony which debilitates them physically and stultifies them mentally. They must, therefore, have many hours of leisure and relaxation. Governments provide parks, playgrounds, libraries, and the like in order that leisure time as well as work time may be spent constructively. The fatigue, accident, and disease resulting from industrial work and the congestion of industrial city life make necessary large programs for public health and sanitation. The impersonal conditions of trade make necessary the inspection of foods and other articles to guard against adulteration and similar unfair practices. The great flow of goods and transit of persons make necessary a large outlay of streets and roads. The elimination of apprenticeship training and the great complexities of industrial society make necessary the setting up and maintenance of great educational systems. The great accumulation of wealth makes it necessary for the government to so regulate the factors connected with production and distribution as to assure itself that these factors are servants and not masters of the people who handle them.

The "ordinary expenditures" of the federal government in 1923 were \$3,294,627,529. These expenses for running the government, not for liquidating any of its past debts or supporting the postal service, are equal to \$29.77 for every member of our national population. A comparison of this expenditure with that of the national government in 1810 will make clear the larger functions of our federal government now than then. In 1810 our expenditures, excluding the same item

mentioned above, were \$8,474,753. This was but \$1.17 per capita. The expenditures of the state governments in 1923 added about \$1,000,000,000. The expenses of the cities, counties, and township governments would add considerably over a billion more. If, therefore, we include in the expenditure of the federal government its payments on debts, the total cost of government in the United States is now something like ten billions of dollars annually. The chief source of revenue for supporting all our governments is taxation. Taxation is, therefore, a matter of vital concern. It is by means of it that all the services which governments render can be had.

The chief civic issues involved in the problem of taxation are the amount of taxes, the distribution of the burden of taxes, and the expenditure of the tax receipts. In general the amount of money raised by taxes sets the limit of the services which governments can render. Upon who pays the tax rests the problem of justice. Upon the expenditure of the tax money rest the issues of honesty and wisdom in public administration. The chief function of taxation is to raise public revenue. But governments try to accomplish other things also by means of taxation. In taxes upon the issues of money by state banks, the federal government eliminated the precarious practice of their issuing bank notes. By taxes upon luxuries and injurious consumption goods, such as intoxicating liquor, governments sometimes try to discourage their use. By taxes upon imports—*i.e.* by tariff—governments try to restrict or eliminate foreign competition, and by inheritance taxes governments may redistribute accumulated wealth. Adam Smith laid down four principles or maxims of taxation which are just as applicable to-day as they were when he uttered them. They were, "first, citizens should contribute as nearly as possible to the general expenses in proportion to their ability to pay. Second, the taxes which each individual must pay should be certain, not arbitrary, and the time and manner of payment should be clearly definite. Third, every tax should be levied at a time and in the manner most convenient for the contributor to pay. Fourth, no tax should be imposed which is incapable of an economic administration." These principles

contemplate no other functions of taxation than that of raising revenue. Furthermore, they lay taxes upon the returns from economic production and organization, to which we are all contributors. They further eliminate all indirect taxes such as tariff and excise taxes because such taxes are largely collected without the knowledge of the one who pays them and most often they have other purposes than the raising of revenue.

The general protest against high taxes is a mark either of ignorance or of bad citizenship. People either do not understand the relation of taxes to government service or they are refusing to support the government willingly and adequately. Men who would sacrifice everything they have, even their lives, in time of war are dishonest and parsimonious in rendering and paying their taxes to support the government in time of peace. It is probably fair to assume that our almost universal protest against taxes is due to the conviction that we have not yet arrived at a just distribution of the tax burden, and people have a right to protest whenever and wherever they think injustice is being done. Let us, therefore, take up some of the mooted questions about kinds of taxes and the distribution of their burden in the light of economic justice.

In the first place, all taxes should be just as direct as possible. It is highly desirable that every one know how much taxes he is paying and for what the money is being spent. An indirect tax cannot be justified if there is any other way of raising sufficient public revenue. Tariff or import taxes and excise or internal revenue taxes are two chief kinds of indirect taxes. Their indirectness is generally for the sake of accomplishing some other ends than the raising of revenue such as restricting or eliminating the competition of foreign-produced goods by protective tariff, or the restriction or prohibition of injurious products by excise taxes. It would be better for a government of the people and for the people to enact direct legislation regulating these matters if they deem it wise to regulate them. The indirectness of the tax makes it impossible for a person to know how much taxes he is paying, just when he is paying, and whether he is paying taxes to support the

government or to accomplish some other end. Furthermore, an indirect tax is exceedingly easily shifted from one person or class of persons to others. In fact, the assumption that it will be shifted is just what makes it indirect. It is placed as a cost upon the production and distribution of goods. The ultimate consumer pays it in increased prices. There is no tax that comes so near violating every maxim of taxation as a tariff. It is not certain in the minds of those who pay it how much or when they are paying. It is shifted with the sale of goods and therefore falls upon many who are least able to pay it. It breeds suspicion as well as robs the government of an understanding on the part of its citizens of just what part they are playing in its financial support. Direct taxes, on the other hand, do not violate the maxims of just taxation, can be made to yield any amount of revenue which the people think desirable for their government to expend, can be raised from those best able to pay it, and cannot easily be shifted. Of course, those who are interested more in private and selfish gain than they are in the services which governments render are opponents of direct taxes, but it is a part of good citizenship to be more concerned with the services and blessings of efficient government than with the dodging or shifting of taxes.

Graduated income taxes are clearly known. They do not disturb the economic process, for they are collected after the process of production and distribution has been completed and they collect from each individual an amount which approximates his proportion, or share in the dividends of all economic endeavor. Inheritance taxes really tax no one. The person who accumulated the wealth is dead and his sons and daughters have not yet come into possession of the wealth. Andrew Carnegie said that the growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion; of all forms of taxation this seems to be the wisest; that men who continue hoarding great sums all their lives, the proper use of which for public ends would work good to the community in the form of the state, would through the opera-

tion of an inheritance tax be compelled to render to the state its proper share. It is desirable that nations should go much further in this direction. The state of New York received in 1920, \$17,786,389 from inheritance taxes. It would probably not be wise for governments to take all of the inheritance and thus deprive dependent children and widows of any means of support. But undoubtedly hundreds of millions and even billions of dollars could be collected from inheritances without seriously handicapping industry or reducing the people who would otherwise receive them below the level of equal competition with others.

In this rapid survey of a few of the great economic issues which constitute problems of citizenship, such palpable injustices as graft, gambling, and bribery have not been discussed. The problem of industrial unrest was discussed in Chapter IV. Injustice due to or by means of our complex economic life must be brought within the pale of ethics. It is only recently that economic sins, immoralities, and injustices have become difficult to recognize. The complexity and interdependence of our economic life is new. For the first time in the world's history one man can take advantage of another or of many others and they never know it. Professor E. A. Ross of Wisconsin University thus states the facts in his book *Sin and Society*:

Interdependence puts us as it were at one another's mercy and so ushers in a multitude of new forms of wrong-doing. Most sin is preying and every new social relation begets its cannibalism. No one will "make the epha small" or "falsify the balances" until there is buying and selling; "withhold the pledge" until there is loaning, "keep back the hire of the laborer" until men submit their disputes to a judge. The rise of the state makes possible counterfeiting, smuggling, speculation, and treason. Commerce tempts the pirate, the forger, and the embezzler. Every new fiduciary relation is a fresh opportunity for a breach of trust. To-day the factory system makes it possible to work children to death on the double-quick. Speculative building gives the jerry builder his chance, long range investments spawn the get-rich-quick concern, and the trust movement opens the door to the bubble promoter.

A tragic fact in economic injustice is that the men who are guilty of the wrong-doing are many times not cognizant of the wrong done. To quote again from Professor Ross:

Because of the special qualities of the newer unrighteousness, because these devastating latter-day wrongs, being comely of look, do not advertise their vileness, and are without the ulcerous hagvisage of primitive sins, it is possible for iniquity to flourish greatly, even while men are getting better. Briber and grafter are often "good men," judged by old tests, and would have passed for virtuous in the American community of seventy years ago. Among the chiefest sinners are now enrolled men who are pure and kind-hearted, living in their families, faithful to their friends, and generous to the needy.

The newness of our interdependence with its many injustices has left us without a clear-cut body of public opinion or set of social ethics with which to handle them. The modern business man who wants to do no wrong finds himself confronted with many issues for which there is no standard of ethical conduct. The modern citizen finds he is confronted with the task of gaining a knowledge of facts and forces which lie far beyond his local environment, and helping to develop a public opinion and a public conscience intelligent enough and comprehensive enough to deal justly with the great economic issues of his day and his community, some of which issues have been briefly discussed in this chapter.

Summary and Conclusions. The problems of economic injustice in a complex economic society are hard to detect and difficult to handle. This is true because our economic system has grown gradually and unconsciously and the injustices are not known or seem inevitable. Such is not the case, but it will demand the wisest statesmanship and a widespread social intelligence to keep them from being true.

The outstanding issues of social justice to-day are tied up with the price and market system and the factory system of production. Both of these involve hundreds of thousands of persons in impersonal relations, which are difficult to analyze and understand. An enlightened, democratic society has no alternative to analyzing and understanding them. Once the

general citizenry understands them their solution will be fairly well assured. So long as most people are ignorant about them, social injustice of great magnitude will prevail.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

- BURCH and PATTERSON, *Problems of American Democracy*, Chaps. XXV and XXVI.
 DUNN, A. W., *Community Civics for City Schools*, Chaps. XVI and XXIII.
 DOLE, C. F., *The New American Citizen*, Chaps. XVII, XXIX, and XXXV.
 FAIRCHILD, H. P., *Outlines of Applied Sociology*, Chap. VIII.
 FINNEY, R. L., *Causes and Cures for Social Unrest*, Chaps. VII and VIII.
 ROSS, E. A., *Sin and Society*, Whole book.
 WARD, H. F., *The New Social Order*, Chap. II.
 WEYL, W. E., *The New Democracy*, Chap. XIII.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Is it possible for a person to be honest and yet deal unjustly?
2. Why do people try to escape paying taxes?
3. Would it be all right to let one man own all wealth if he was a good man?
4. How can you tell whether a nation is economically prosperous?
5. Why do we permit some able-bodied persons to be perpetually idle?
6. Give your definition of "social ethics."

CHAPTER XX

HUMAN RELATIONS AND INTER-RACIAL PROBLEMS

The interdependence of all peoples in our civilization requires a better understanding and surer co-operation between all races. The United States from the beginning has been the "melting pot" for all races and peoples. Its earliest settlers came chiefly from England, France, and Holland. These people lived for the most part in fairly compact communities, more or less isolated from one another. After the first settlements had been established they grew by natural increase or by accretion from the home communities abroad. By 1820 the great economic opportunities of the vast undeveloped territories of this continent had begun to be known throughout the world, particularly in Europe. The result was a steady and increasing flow of people from those countries to America. The English, French, and Dutch came first and were followed by the Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians, who came in great numbers in the middle of the nineteenth century. These were later followed by peoples from all sections of the earth, until to-day we have the most polyglot population known in the world.

In 1790, at the time of our first national census, we had a population of less than 4,000,000 people, not counting the Indians. By 1850 we had grown to be a nation of 23,000,000 people and have since increased to about 110,000,000. Since the beginning of the year 1820 over 35,000,000 immigrants have come into the United States. In addition to this vast number of people from foreign countries who help to make up our people, we have more than 10,000,000 negroes and more than 300,000 Indians. Our population is the most cosmopolitan of any nation of the earth, past or present. We are, therefore, confronted with racial problems more complex than any

other nation. One of our greatest civic problems is to see that the "melting pot" works toward the purpose of making a union out of the diverse peoples and ideas which make up our national life.

The three great issues of citizenship upon which an attempt is made to give information and develop civic ideals in this chapter are: the civic issues connected with our great body of immigrants; the problem of the American negro; and our treatment of the American Indian.

We must handle our immigration problem in such a way as to insure the progress and well-being of our national life. The core of the immigration problem is not national selfishness, but assimilation. We have developed in this country a set of institutions, customs, and traditions which constitute a society somewhat different from all others. The great and rich natural resources of the physical environment, the enterprise of a people who had the courage to pioneer, and comparative isolation of our national life for six or eight generations of people have built a national life which has a contribution to make to the world. We must guard the integrity of our culture by not allowing it to be swamped by the influx of other customs and traditions than those which are natural products of our peculiar national situation. It should not be forgotten, however, that a part of our tradition is that America is an asylum for all who do not find opportunities for freedom and development elsewhere in the world. The Statue of Liberty stands in New York Harbor facing the sea and holding a flaming star to light all liberty-seeking people to "the land of the free." Nor should it be forgotten that all of us are now enjoying the opportunities and blessings of American citizenship because the door was not closed against our fathers and grandfathers. Our immigration policy should, therefore, not be one of selfishness or exclusion for the sake of exclusiveness. Exclusion, or even restriction of other peoples, is justified only on the basis of safeguarding our national solidarity and guaranteeing our contribution of life and ideals to the world.

By assimilation is not necessarily meant blood amalgamation, though, as we shall later see, if blood assimilation does

not occur cultural assimilation is usually handicapped. Cultural assimilation, however, is the test of group or national unity. If those who come into our midst learn to accept our customs, traditions, and ideals, and do not jeopardize the stability or existence of our institutions, they will not be a menace, and according to the spirit of America from its beginning ought to be allowed to enter. If, however, immigrants are coming in such great number that cultural assimilation is impossible, we are justified in a policy of restriction. If people from some sections of the earth seem not to be able to be assimilated at all, then we are justified in a policy of exclusion in their cases.

Until about 1880 our immigration came almost exclusively from northern Europe. Relatives and friends of the colonists, together with people of similar characteristics and desires, up until about 1845 came in gradual and steadily increasing numbers. The potato famine in Ireland in the early 'forties, the unsuccessful revolution in Germany in 1848, wars and depleted agriculture in the Scandinavian countries, drove many thousands of people from those countries to our shores. Before the year 1845, with but one exception, not as many as 100,000 people had flowed into the United States in one year. During the next ten years considerably over 3,000,000 immigrants landed in this country. The number reached 427,833 in the year 1854. The Civil War and its aftermath so reduced the flow of population to this country that the heights of 1854 were not reached again until 1873. The panic of 1873 acted as a retarding influence and it was not until 1880 that as many as 400,000 came again during one year. At about that time, and ever since, peoples from Russia and southern Europe have chiefly made up our tide of immigrants. By 1905 they were coming at a rate of over 1,000,000 a year. During the ten years, 1905 to 1914, inclusive, over 11,000,000 immigrants passed into the United States from all sections of the world, but came chiefly from southern Europe, Poland, and Russia. With the outbreak of the World War, particularly after our entrance into it, immigration fell lower than at any time since the Civil War. Since the World War immigrants have been

coming in about as large numbers as our newer and more restrictive immigration laws will permit. The following table shows the different sources (A) from which our immigrants came prior to the great influx which started in the late 'eighties and (B) after that time.

SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

	A	B
	1882	1907
	Per	Per
	cent	cent
<i>Northern Europe:</i>		
Great Britain and Ireland.....	22.8	8.8
Germany.....	31.7	2.9
Scandinavia.....	13.3	3.9
Total.....	67.8	15.6
<i>Southern Europe and Russia:</i>		
Italy.....	4.1	22.2
Austria-Hungary.....	3.7	26.3
Russia.....	2.7	20.1
Total.....	10.5	68.6
All other countries.....	21.7	15.8

It can readily be seen that we have vastly different immigration problems now from what we had previous to 1880. We had only 50,000,000 people in the United States in 1850. To-day we have almost 110,000,000. By 1880 practically the whole area of the United States had been settled. During the period in which our immigrants were coming from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries we were developing the great and fertile regions of the Middle West and West. By the time the tide of immigration began to come from southern Europe our agricultural regions had been largely populated and industrialized and great cities had begun to appear. The new condition of our whole immigration situation presented three problems which had not confronted us before that time. First, immigrants were now coming chiefly from sections of the earth where customs, traditions, institutions, ideas, and ideals were different from ours and were coming in greater numbers than ever before. Previous to that time they had come from the same countries from which the people who had built our civilization had come. These new immigrants spoke a different language, had been

used to different political and religious ideals, were poorer financially and very often had been robbed of any opportunity of education. Second, the great source of undeveloped wealth in the country no longer existed and it was therefore much less likely that all of these newcomers would accomplish financial success. Third, the growth of manufacturing and great cities tended to congregate foreigners in congested and more or less isolated city areas where they had little opportunity to learn American ways by freely mingling with the older population.

Whereas there was practically no problem of assimilation previous to 1880 and, therefore, practically no problem incident to immigration, since that time the problem of assimilation has been very acute. We have now developed great foreign areas which are in their life habits and social customs more like foreign societies than they are like our own society. In New York City in 1920 there were 392,400 Italians, living mostly in the lower East Side. Many of them cannot speak the English language. They maintain their foreign institutions, ideas, and ideals. In some cases it is practically necessary to let them maintain a system of government of their own in order to insure law and order at all. Under such conditions assimilation or Americanization is scarcely possible and is not being accomplished to any degree. The Russians are in New York City in even greater numbers than the Italians. The Poles constitute the same problem in Chicago, Buffalo, and Cleveland, the Italians the same in New Orleans, and the Russians the same in Philadelphia.

It must not be assumed, however, that immigrants have made no contribution to our country or that they have no contribution yet to make. They have developed some of the great farming regions of the Middle West, introduced horticulture, viticulture, vegetable gardening, and dairying in a number of places, furnished the manual labor for building railroads, and are now mining most of our coal and manufacturing most of our shoes, sugar, leather, wool, cotton and meats. They have brought in a new emphasis on music and art, and many new ideas and practices which help to make up our rich and

cosmopolitan economic and social life. We are the great democratic society that we are just because our population is a composite of so many different elements.

The wise attack upon our immigration problem, like the wise attack upon any other civic problem, is not to dodge it, but to understand its elements well enough to make solution possible. We know that we can assimilate people from countries very much like our own with little difficulty. There is, therefore, no reason for restricting persons from these countries. We know that our immigrants are now too largely congested in the city slums. We should, therefore, eliminate the slums and provide for a better distribution of newcomers. We know that ignorance on the part of immigrants of our language, government, institutions, ideas, and ideals menaces the integrity and stability of our national life. We should therefore make Americanization compulsory and provide the facilities for accomplishing it. We know that our native Americans do not intermarry with the Chinese, Japanese, and Oriental Indians. These Orientals are of a different race. Their customs, traditions, and ideas diverge far more widely from ours than do those of Europeans. A different policy is necessary in relation to them, at least until racial prejudice can be eliminated.

We know also that our nation has been built up by immigration and that one of the dominant ideals from the beginning of our history has been that America is a "Land of the Free" to which all peoples might come for asylum and accomplishment. We ought not now refuse to complete the great task of demonstrating democracy to the world simply because we have become great and powerful and economically selfish. It was Woodrow Wilson's ideal that America should make its contribution politically and ethically to the world while we yet retain the spirit which made us the most powerful and probably the most revered nation of the world. We can make this contribution only by guarding our society from all menacing forces, but it is the part of humanitarian statesmanship to attempt to develop a world unity within our own borders, if possible, out of the diverse peoples who seek the

opportunities of our civilization. Thus we would point the way to the accomplishment of democracy throughout the world. The brotherhood of all men is sure to be accomplished at some time, and a wise and courageous attack upon the problems presented by our immigration furnishes us an opportunity to lead toward that great goal.

Our negro problem is more difficult even than our immigration problem, and is a problem which we cannot evade. Grover Cleveland said America had just one unsolvable problem, the negro problem. But there is no escape solving it. We have over 10,000,000 negroes in our population and few of them entered the country on their own initiative. There are two states, Mississippi and South Carolina, that have more negroes than white in their population, and three others, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, that have almost equal numbers of the two races. Negroes have entered every occupation or profession in the nation. They own over a billion dollars' worth of property and are now to be found in almost every community of the nation. They do practically all the manual labor in some sections of the country and have a practical monopoly in some occupations in other sections. It would be impossible to take them out of our population root and branch without creating domestic and manual labor maladjustments almost as serious as were created by their emancipation from slavery. This is particularly true in those areas where negroes constitute as much as a fourth of the population. We have no alternative to that of making them an integral part of our social and economic structure in some way that will, if possible, be mutually satisfactory to both the colored and white races.

It is not a part of the purpose here to discuss the biological superiority and inferiority of the two races. It is clear to everyone that the negroes as a whole are culturally inferior to the whites. It has never been possible for them to develop a culture of their own in America and we have not yet completely developed means by which to allow them to participate fully in the culture of the whites. They were brought to this country from an inferior civilization and lived in slavery for

two hundred and fifty years. While the slave system gave the negroes a definite place in the economic organization, it never allowed them to participate in the social culture of our society in the intimate fashion which is necessary to cultural assimilation. Furthermore, the growth of a culture for two hundred and fifty years, which recognized the inferiority and servile position of the negro during all that time, is so thoroughly grounded that it is not possible to change its attitude quickly.

During the so-called "Reconstruction period," after the Civil War, we did not accomplish anything in relation to racial adjustment except to convince the Southern whites that they could preserve the integrity of their society only if they "kept the negro in his place." This attitude, thoroughly justified on their part, as a measure of defense against the unwisdom of Reconstruction practices, kept them for a long time from furnishing the negroes with those facilities of economic success and cultural advancement which are now being furnished. The fact that the negroes came from an inferior civilization, were slaves for eight or ten generations, were put in a place of inferiority for two generations after the Civil War, and yet constitute a large enough proportion of the population in many sections as to maintain deep-set adjustments of long standing, all tend to create a social situation more difficult than any other in our national life.

Vice, crime and pauperism all run high among the negroes. As any other ignorant people, living on a low standard of living and in a position of recognized inferiority, is bound to be more often caught by the law, for even the same acts, than the other members of the population, so it is with the negro. The development of individual initiative and ambitions which mark others for advance is liable to threaten the dominance of the whites if practiced by the negroes. While such accomplishments are not forbidden, the negroes, nevertheless, often find themselves in maladjustment because of practicing them. The position of both negroes and whites is made very difficult because of the impossibility of practicing democracy, the practice of which is the yardstick for measuring the solution of all our other great social problems.

As difficult as it is to eliminate race friction and make those social adjustments that are necessary to the negroes' progress and development, the white people of the South have come to see that these things are essential to the progress of their civilization. The economic competition of any group of people who live habitually on a low standard of living tends to pull down the standard of living of the whole community. Every bale of cotton that is grown or manufactured, every ditch that is dug and every piece of labor performed by the negroes, furnish a competitive level to which white men must stoop if they would survive economically at all. Furthermore, the presence of negro domestic servants in the home, negro laborers on the farm and in the factory, and negro children in the community furnish association for white children that must be made the best possible. The recognition of these facts has led to the establishment of schools for the negroes, opened the occupations and professions to them, and in every way led to endeavors on the part of the white people to raise the standard of living among the negroes. The results are, the negroes now own over \$500,000,000 worth of city property, own about one-quarter of a million farms and operate three-quarters of a million others. They seldom now feel themselves attached to white families for life or even live in their homes. They almost universally have homes and communities of their own, and have independent businesses in hundreds of thousands of cases.

Negroes are moving rapidly from the rural to the urban districts and settling generally throughout the several states and cities of the country. The percentage of negroes in urban places increased from 28.5 in 1910 to 42.2 in 1920. A study of the Northern migration of negroes by the Bureau of Labor indicates that 478,700 left the South in the year ending September first, 1923. The negro population of Chicago increased 148.2 per cent between 1910 and 1920. That of Cleveland increased 307.8 per cent, and that of Detroit 611.3 per cent. In 1920 there were 254,599 fewer negroes in the thirteen negro states of the South and 1,760,033 more negroes

in the other states than there were in 1910, and the chief northward migration has taken place since that time.

With the negro's tendency to become more independent so far as geographical location is concerned, with his development toward economic independence and his growth in enlightenment, and with the development of better attitudes between the negro and white races, there is yet need for a definite and widespread policy and program of democratic adjustment. His dispersal over the country as a whole ought to tend to develop a similar attitude on the part of the whole national group, and this must be accomplished before the problem can be solved nationally. His increase in enlightenment will make him a more efficient and less menacing citizen, and his increase in economic independence should reduce the amount both of poverty and disease in the community where he lives. But his face is black. He is obviously different from the whites. The tradition and existent lack of his cultural attainment are evident. Complete blood amalgamation with him is unthinkable on the part of the Southern whites. And yet he is a part of our civil life.

What should be our policy and program in relation to the negro? It would seem that it must be, for the time being at least, to construct two complete and equally efficient sets of institutions and agencies to serve the cultural needs of the two races, to assure ourselves that the self-respect, enlightenment, and moral standards are the same for both races and are held equally sacred. Negroes already have separate homes, churches, and schools and in many cases their own occupations and professions. With their dispersal over the United States and their growing enlightenment there will soon be no need for their political isolation such as there was in the days following the Civil War. This is the direction that the adjustment is naturally taking. It is incumbent on both races to see that this process is assisted, for until human altruism has outrun all racial prejudice, the best we can do is to assure the negro equal cultural opportunity with the white man, while carefully guarding the integrity and self-respect of each against the sins and vices of the other.

The American Indian is still a part of our national population and should be guaranteed all the opportunities of our common civic life. There is no greater blot on the pages of American history than that which must be placed there as a record of our treatment of the American Indian. He at one time inhabited all the territory which is now in the hands of the federal government or private citizens of the nation. Civilization was not highly developed among the Indians when the white man began settling on the land, but later evidence shows that Indians are capable of assimilating our civilization and there is ever cause to believe that complete racial amalgamation would have taken place if the friendship which first prevailed between them and the white settlers had been retained and developed. Instead of that, white traders from the first traded the Indians useless trinkets for valuable articles, even for vast areas of land, sold them intoxicating liquor, and in countless cases took their lands without giving or paying them anything in return. In due time the Indians struck back and, once the belligerency had started, there seemed to be some justification for fighting the petty Indian wars to successful conclusion and guarding the settlers against massacre. It was, however, one of those cases where dishonesty and selfishness led to complications which resulted in a great wrong being done.

President Grant appointed a commission in 1869 to examine Indian affairs. Its report stated that, "the history of the government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfilled promises. The history of the border white man's connection with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery, and wrongs committed by the former, as a rule, an occasional savage outbreak and unspeakably barbarous deeds of retaliation by the latter, as the exception." It is hard for an American citizen to believe that his government would break a treaty, and yet that is what was done a number of times with the Indians. Unwarranted greed and failure to recognize the self-respect of all people are liable at any time to cause a repetition of the tragedy of the Indians and leave a blot for which we will hang our heads in shame for

generations. Nations as well as individuals must not expect that great wrong can be done and the results of it escaped.

After the Indians had been dispossessed of practically all their lands they were placed on reservations and treated as wards of the government. This policy seemed to be just, but could scarcely be said to be wise for the Indians. It has made them lazy to their own detriment and been more or less a policy of charity on the part of the government. It is now possible for an Indian to be naturalized, to have a farm of his own, attend our educational institutions, and in every way be a self-respecting American citizen. But this policy was adopted so late as to leave a blot on our national life.

The number of Indians in our population now is calculated to be 344,000. This constitutes so small a portion of our people and we are sufficiently far from the day of Indian troubles that we can look dispassionately and more or less proudly upon the red man. We are handicapped, however, in preaching to the world about justice to the weaker peoples because of our record in handling the Indian. We ought to take warning from our shame and use reason and justice instead of selfishness and passion in other inter-racial issues which face us as a people or as a nation.

Summary and Conclusions. Inter-racial contacts form a set of human relations that raise the seemingly most insuperable problems of civilization. Races were constituted and specialized into black, white, and yellow races by means of isolation from one another. This isolation prevailed over countless generations of people. During the period of the last one hundred years the development of means of transportation and communication has broken down the isolation of the races of mankind. The results are, that the races are now face to face with each other and find themselves interdependent with each other. Their problem is how to break down their deep racial loyalties and their deep inter-racial antipathies.

The cultural attainments of civilization—art, literature, science, and mechanical and business technologies—are rapidly becoming the social heritage of all races. As each race builds

a civilization out of these facilities and attainments it automatically becomes both a competitor and a co-operator with the other races. Whether the result will be the development of a giant and destructive race conflict or a world civilization depends upon whether racial prejudice leads us to such a conflict before altruism and enlightenment develop a knowledge of racial interdependence and racial co-operation.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

ASHLEY, R. L., *The Practice of Citizenship*, Chap. XXI.

BURCH and PATTERSON, *Problems of American Democracy*,
Chaps. XIV and XV.

ELWOOD, C. A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chaps.
XI and XII.

FAIRCHILD, H. P., *Immigration*.

MEEKLIN, J. M., *Democracy and Race Friction*.

MUNRO and OZANNE, *Social Civics*, Chap. II.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Why did your forefathers come to America?
2. What are the differences between having one Indian and having one million in our population?
3. Should we have a different set of laws to control Oriental immigration and the immigration from other sections of the earth?
4. Why is the negro problem so difficult?
5. Should the negroes be given equal opportunity with the whites?
6. What would be the effect if all the negroes were to be removed from the South?
7. What would have happened if we had paid the Indians for their lands?
8. What are the differences between our problems concerning the Indians, negroes and immigrants?

CHAPTER XXI

HUMAN RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

The economic interdependence of all classes, races, and nations makes necessary a larger unity and better co-operation of all the people of the world than ever before. At every stage of discussion in this volume the fact has been emphasized that a person at any place and performing any task is influenced and conditioned by a great many other persons in the world. The day of individual isolation never existed. Primitive families and clans who lived in comparative isolation had to live very restricted and uncomfortable lives. The division of economic labors, which makes individuals dependent upon one another, also makes nations dependent one upon another. People in the relatively isolated countries to-day are living the most restricted and miserable lives of all the world's people. International trade has made necessary all other kinds of international relations. National isolation is therefore also a thing of the past.

International commerce has for a long time furnished and furnishes us to-day a goodly portion of the products we enjoy day by day. A person can be a political citizen of but one nation, but his economic and social life demands that he be a citizen of world society. The borrowing of culture from all over the earth is the process of civilization. No nation can afford to try to make progress by means only of the discoveries and inventions of its own people. The cultural accomplishments of all nations are the heritage of every nation if human relations between nations are kept fluid and peaceful.

Civilization progresses by the expanding of the circumference of group contacts. The history of the world has seen men pass from the economic units of families, clans, and confederations to those of nations. The same progress in inven-

tions and discoveries and in the improvements of transportation and communication which has caused these changes has interwoven the lives of nations until it is imperative that we learn international neighborliness. We knew, beyond a doubt, during the World War that what was a menace to one part of civilization was a menace to all civilization. Can international co-operation be attained only in time of war, or shall we strive to make it a part of the daily life of nations?

We know full well that our political and even our ethical life, as well as our economic life, cannot be abstracted from that of other nations, for their kinds of government and ideas of right and wrong influence their conduct in their relations with us. Just because we recognize the necessity of maintaining understanding and making continuous adjustments in international relations, we maintain a consular service with practically every nation of the world. There are fifty-two nations who maintain consuls in New York City alone. Our own diplomatic and consular forces are composed of thousands of individuals, and we spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in maintaining them in order that we may more effectively carry on our interwoven world life. There is no way by which a great nation, or indeed any nation, can to-day withdraw from the economic, social, and political life of the world. It is, therefore, just as much a part of good citizenship to be intelligent about international relations and world influences as it is to be intelligent concerning issues which influence the efficiency and welfare of local communities.

The United States is now a world power and ought to exercise its power in the world for the good of humanity. Until the last decade of the nineteenth century the United States was looked upon as a small and more or less isolated nation. To-day it plays a dominant rôle in all the affairs of the world. Our foreign commerce is greater than that of any other nation except the United Kingdom. Our voice is listened for on every matter of world concern. Our government is respected by all people and idealized by many. Our good will is earnestly and sincerely sought by all nations. We are influencing the world and will continue to influence it whether we desire to or not.

Our contributions to the world for all time to come will depend on how we play our rôle in the world's affairs to-day. At just this era in the world's history is our greatest opportunity. A large portion of the civilized world is prostrated by the burdens and devastations of war. Other nations not only are very dependent upon us, but they look to us to show them democracy's solution to their troubles. Furthermore, nations seem to be very much like individuals; what they do at one time lays a basis for habitual practices long into the future. All great stable nations have what is known and recognized as an international policy. That is, they can be counted upon to act pretty much in given ways in all affairs involving other nations and other peoples.

What is our international policy and what should it be? Some will say that it is isolation. Washington, who is so often cited as an isolationist, said in his farewell address at the close of his Presidency in 1797 that the general principle should be to "observe good faith and justice toward all nations," to "cultivate peace and harmony with all," and that "the great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have as little *political connections* as possible." He laid down the ethical principle, indicated a clear appreciation of the fact that our commercial relations would expand, but urged that we should not meddle in foreign affairs unless necessary. His statements can in no way be interpreted as meaning that we should restrict our own life by attempting to withdraw from the world, nor could he possibly have imagined, at the time when he spoke, that the development of a world trade and commerce would involve us with the life and practices of all people to the extent that it has.

It is interesting to note also how much emphasis some have placed upon Jefferson's words, "entangling alliances with none," and how little we have idealized his words, "honest friendship with all nations." In Jefferson's administration the American fleet was sent to the Mediterranean Sea to clear the waters of pirates and make possible the freedom of our international commerce. Neither Washington nor Jefferson was

counseling isolation except in case of belligerent and secret alliance with nation against nation. Each of the great statesmen undoubtedly saw and believed that the day would come when we would be a big and powerful enough nation to greatly influence the world. If they did not foresee this, then we have outgrown their faith, for no nation to-day is counted upon more to influence and even lead Western civilization than is the United States.

As a world power we have five possible positions to take or attitudes to assume. We might become imperialistic, and by use of our great man power and material and financial resources conquer and absorb other nations. Practically all great nations in the past have taken this road. Practically all of them have met their downfall by pursuing such a policy. Furthermore, they have, during the period of ascendancy and power, menaced all other nations which lay in their path, established hatred which sometimes lasted for centuries, and often menaced the peace of the world with their greed for expansion.

We might form alliances with other great powers and thus try to dominate the world. For the last two centuries this has been a common practice among great nations. It was the policy of the European nations preceding the World War. Such a policy is of precarious permanency and always constitutes a menace to weaker nations and encourages counter alliances.

We might assume the attitudes of superiority toward other nations, particularly toward weaker nations and backward peoples. Such an attitude is very prevalent in the world to-day. Its presence and insistence drove the League of Nations to an organization of chiefly five great powers—England, France, Japan, Italy and the United States. There is some evidence that we have been guilty of this type of “highbrowism” in our attitudes and relations with Mexico and the South American nations.

We might attempt to live in isolation, upon the assumption that we are great enough to be self-sufficient. Our system of tariffs, our refusal to enter the League of Nations, and our

conviction that we owe the world nothing and expect nothing from it, are all evidences that such an idea is by no means uncommon in the minds of some of our people.

We might recognize that, great as we are, and as comparatively self-sufficient as we are, nevertheless we could live a fuller and freer life by utilizing the ends of the earth as our purchasing and selling markets, the accomplishments of the peoples of the world as our laboratory, and the ideas of friendliness and mutual helpfulness to all peoples as our duty and privilege. That we are great in the spirit of benevolence to all people is being evidenced every year by our gifts to those in distress. We need to go beyond the spirit and attitude of benevolence to that of co-operation and brotherhood with all nations both weak and strong.

Theodore Roosevelt while President of the United States expressed the attitude of the nation concerning the Monroe Doctrine as follows: "If a nation shows that it knows how to act with decency in industrial and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, then it need fear no interference from the United States. Brutal wrong-doing or impatience which results in the general loosening of the ties of civilized society may finally require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the United States cannot ignore its duty." Woodrow Wilson said, concerning the same doctrine in an address to the Pan-American Conference: "There is no claim of guardianship or thought of wards, but instead a full and honorable association as of partners between ourselves and our neighbors, in the interest of all America, North and South. . . . All the governments of America stand, so far as we are concerned, upon a feeling of genuine equality and unquestioned independence.

"The moral is, that the states of America are not hostile rivals, but co-operating friends, and that their growing sense of community interest, alike in matters political and in matters economic, is likely to give them a new significance as factors in international affairs and in the political history of the world." Upon this interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, which recognized the common interests of the nations of North

and South America, President Wilson pleaded for the expansion of the doctrine to the world, and it is to be hoped that such will be the direction of our power and influence among the nations of the world.

The United States should prove to the world that she believes in democracy not as a shibboleth, but as a program and a policy. In the World War we claimed to be fighting "to make the world safe for democracy." Will we lead in inculcating democracy into the life of the world? Democracy is based upon a belief in the inherent worth of the individual. Upon this belief we have constructed the greatest democracy in the world and done it out of the most diverse classes of people which the nations could furnish us through immigration. We have built this cosmopolitan civilization of ours not by force, compulsion, or conquest, but by an attempt to insure liberty and equality and promote fraternity among men. It was Woodrow Wilson's conviction, and it is the belief of many others, that America's great contribution to the world is her democracy, and that it is her sacred obligation and duty to deliver democracy's message and demonstrate its practice in the world.

There is little doubt that President Wilson's various addresses to Congress and his diplomatic notes to other nations during the World War were appeals to the people of the world to accept the creed and practice of democracy. The appeal and power of that creed were measured by the response from the common people of the world to his messages. He was looked upon as the savior of humanity. Even now he is not blamed by any of them because of his utterances, but because in assisting in making the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations he was unable fully to write democracy's creed into these documents.

We have often heard it said that nations do not trust one another enough to make democracy between them practicable. Maybe the nations—in terms of their "elder statesmen"—do not, but there is no evidence, outside the hatreds engendered by the war, that the common people of the world mistrust one another. They have found very little difficulty in work-

ing together in harmony in such countries as Australia, New Zealand, the South American nations, our own country and Canada, where they have come together from the ends of the earth. In fact, it is in these very countries where democracies have been built up and where they flourish. It is, therefore, highly probable that it is only the existence of old nationalistic attitudes and the perpetuation of old types and systems of international relations that keep the international trade and commerce of the world from developing a world democracy. Surely the United States, the world's chief exponent and example of democracy, cannot afford to assist in perpetuating these old types and systems, and surely she will not refuse to carry into her international relations the ways of democracy.

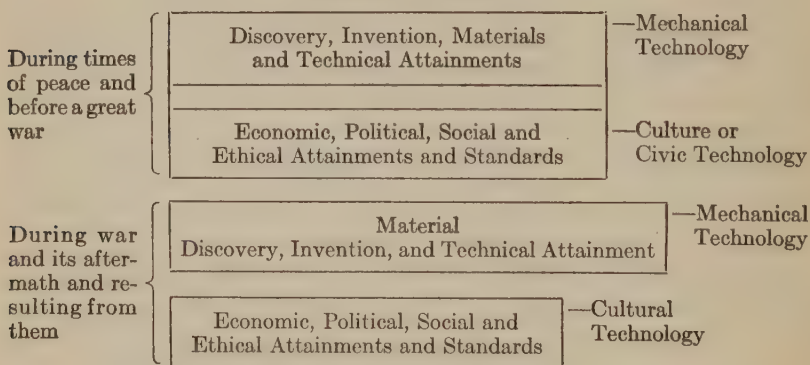
What would democracy's way demand in the methods of international life? It would demand the liberty of all peoples and their right to set up governments of their own kind and liking. It would demand the right of free intercourse between all nations such as exists between the various states of the United States. It would deny any nation the right to secede from the Union or concourse of nations. It would demand direct and equal representation of the peoples of the nations themselves in all international assemblies. But above all it would encourage and promote fraternity or brotherhood among all the people of the world. That the world's economic interdependence is leading inevitably in this direction ought to be clear. For America not to recognize this fact and lead, while she may, in that direction, is for her to demonstrate to the world that democracy is only her shibboleth and not her program, policy, or faith.

The greatest menace to world harmony and human progress is the belief in and the practice of war. It would be difficult to prove that civilization had ever been advanced by war or that the gains which wars have claimed to accomplish could not have been better made in other ways. War is always destructive. It not only destroys life and wealth, but, worse yet, it destroys the very fiber and spirit of civilization itself. Culture or civilization is a fabric of human relations. Human relations become the faith, morals, sanctions, and taboos which

lift man above the brute and advance civilization beyond savagery and barbarism. Stable governments, commercial credits, religion, morals, and ideals are accomplishments of peace and harmony among peoples. Wars may stimulate advance in physical technologies in so far as machines and other engines of destruction further the power to fight, but they not only do not further the cultural attainments of men, but destroy them. Never has a great war taken place which did not stop the growth of good will and good relations of the warring parties for at least a generation.

The following diagrams will illustrate the effects of war upon civilization:

WHAT HAPPENS TO POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND ETHICAL PROGRESS AS A
RESULT OF WAR



Examples of lapses in culture, familiar to all of us, are those following our own Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and the recent World War. We entered the World War as a matter of duty, but the spirit of duty was soon turned to hate and our minds were so poisoned that the words "German" and "pro-German" became anathema to our very souls. It is always so. And yet we have allowed ourselves to be drawn into a war every generation of our national life and have been brutalized by its prosecution.

The futility and folly of war are seldom seen until after it is over, and even then it is difficult for the conquering people to see that it was not inevitable to begin with. It is doubtful

whether there has been a great war fought since the days of international intercourse that some one did not propose a peaceful method of settlement before war began. Conciliation was Burke's plea with England as an alternative to the Revolutionary War. Thousands of people in the South, among them Lee, did not believe in secession. It would be hard to conceive of a more unnecessary war than the Civil War. To have freed the slaves would have been many times cheaper for the South than the terrible costs of the war. To have purchased the slaves would have been cheaper for the North. The national government is yet paying annually \$200,000,000 in Civil War pensions to northern soldiers and their widows. But it is useless to expect that an idea, out of the clear sky or promoted by one man, can stop an impending war. It is only by developing a universal intelligence about the futility and terrible menace of war that we can ever expect to substitute pacific methods for settling disputes between nations. The following facts ought to contribute at least indirectly to developing that intelligence.

Most national debts are made up of the expenses of wars saddled on to future generations. After the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, the national debts of the nations of the world were \$1,500,000,000; after the Napoleonic wars they were \$7,000,000,000; after the Franco-Prussian war they were \$22,000,000,000; and at the close of the World War they were \$225,000,000,000. The following table shows the results of the World War, in per capita, of national debt for the countries chiefly involved in that war:

	1913	1921
France.....	\$160	\$1150
Great Britain.....	78	850
Germany.....	18	800
Austria.....	63	525
Hungary.....	70	387
Italy.....	83	365
Australia.....	18	318
United States.....	11	225
Russia.....	27	125

The war debt of the United States was \$1,029,564,000 in 1913. At the end of the World War it was \$24,974,930,000.

Our debt increased to 24 times its pre-war volume as a direct result of a war which was far removed from us geographically. To pay the interest on our war debt alone costs us about \$10 per capita annually. It seems inconceivable that a great peace-loving nation like ours would allow itself to become so entangled in human misunderstandings as to make it necessary to sacrifice the flower of its manhood once each generation, destroy its wealth, and burden itself with debts for generations to come, rather than to recognize its involvement with the peoples and the processes of the world and strive to so influence them as to make such folly unnecessary and even impossible. The recent World War has so definitely demonstrated that war is a crushing burden even to the nations that win that it ought to give all people grave pause before they do anything which lays the groundwork for another war.

Many arguments are presented in favor of war. The one that is most common is the necessity of national defense. But defense against what and whom? Not against the backward and uncivilized people of the world, for India, Africa, or Tibet has never started wars. It is always defense against supposedly enlightened nations. The United States voted in 1921 to spend \$700,000,000 on her army and navy in order to be able to defend herself against Japan's, France's, or England's army or navy. Competitive armament is competition in menacing the welfare and peace of other nations. Japan could not possibly menace us if she had no army or navy. She would be no menace to us, even though she cared to be, if she had only a small army or navy. When, however, she maintains a large army and navy she thereby constitutes a possible menace to us. If we maintain, then, a still greater army and navy to protect ourselves against Japan, we thereby place ourselves in a position to menace all other nations, who in turn construct menaces to us, Japan, and all others, by building armies and navies with which to defend themselves.

The system of competitive menaces and military attitudes is as sure to lead to fighting, as if it were neighborhood bullies who were trying to prepare themselves to fight someone else in case of need. If the menaces to a nation, against which it

prepares to defend itself, were the result of physical or fatalistic forces it would seem reasonable to continue building stronger defenses. When, however, they result from purely human causes and are maintained by enlightened people, they become anomalies in civilization. It would seem that the evidence which we have, in thousands of walks of life, that co-operation and not conflict is the efficient method of social well-being, would lead us to eliminate the crushing costs of war which pile up in terms of destruction by battle and invasion during war and in costs of defenses in time of peace.

The peace of the world depends upon the accomplishment of the brotherhood of men, and the brotherhood of men depends upon the enlightenment of all people. The common people in this day and age want peace. They know that the channels of trade and commerce are cut by war and all the facilities for successful and happy living are handicapped. They make the sacrifices willingly once the war spirit is developed, but they never start wars and it would be difficult to get the same generation, particularly of those who make up the armed forces, to enter another war while the actual facts of a recent war are in their minds. If men everywhere understood how much life depends upon the channels of trade and commerce and how these channels in their operation depend upon peace, they would desire peace even more than they do now. The greatest preventative to war is therefore an understanding of the conditions of modern life.

If all people could study and know the origins of ideas and cultures, they would better understand the differences in the customs, habits, and traditions of others. Civilized man knows less about civilization than about any other thing on earth. He is a part of it, drinks deep of its blessings, and is proud of its attainments, but he is woefully ignorant of its diverse elements and many times misinformed about its operations. The crying need of our complex modern life is economic, political, and social intelligence. Professional diplomats, politicians, and soldiers cannot and will not solve the world's problems in a democratic way. It is only a widespread

knowledge among the common people that can assure the peace and progress of civilization.

Universal enlightenment has led toward democracy wherever it has existed. Universal enlightenment on the actual facts of man's interwoven and interdependent economic, political, and social life will lead toward world democracy. It was not the belief that an actual war could possibly, in itself, end all wars, but a belief that out of the welter of war the people of the world would come with clear minds and with a faith in America's capacity and willingness to lead in democracy's ways of peace that caused a great American President and statesman to lead our nation to war, and later to represent it in attempting to make a permanent peace.

The idea of a League of Nations did not grow out of the war. Its need and principles had been enunciated at various times and in various places before the war. The conclusion of the war was accepted as the time when men's minds were ripe for its accomplishment. Could it have been submitted to the peoples of the world for approval it would have needed but three planks for ratification: first, that we all mutually agree never to make war again; second, that the channels of trade and commerce and the dealings of all people, one with another, must in the future forever be kept free and open; third, that we ally ourselves in an international pact to keep the peace of the world and to see that any nation or people who threatens to disturb it shall be outlawed and if need be disciplined by the common strength of the nations of the world.

War may not always have been avoidable in the past. It may not always be avoidable in the future. But we have long since ceased to use the ordeal, the feud, or the mob to settle questions of right and wrong between individuals. The ways of the tribe and the clan have been superseded by the larger co-operative units of states and nations. Our human relationships and many of the factors which influence life are now world-wide. A co-operation can alone cope successfully with the problems which world contacts generate.

Professor Tufts of the University of Chicago aptly says: "War persists because mankind has as yet risen but a little

way on the ladder. The nation is a better group for keeping peace than the early clan, and a democratic nation is a great advance beyond the king and his warriors. Loyalty to a democratic nation is a nobler devotion than loyalty to a clan or a chief or a king. Patriotism is a quality we honor. But a nation, like a clan, is a group which has its defects as well as its values. So far as it means co-operation it is good; so far as it limits co-operation with other peoples, or what is worse, sets men in hostility to other peoples, it is bad. Loyalty to a great cause, such as freedom, is noble; but we have come to see that only by justice and co-operation can freedom be secure. Loyalty to mankind must finally be supreme; international law, international co-operation, and international friendship must increase. This may not mean that nations will give up their individual lives or cease to exist any more than the family ceased to exist when nations were founded. It means, first, that we shall cultivate in science, in trade, in art, in communication of all sorts, a wider knowledge of mankind, a more intelligent sympathy, a genuine respect, and thus prepare for what an American philosopher called the 'Great Community.' It means, second, that nations will have to keep international law and submit their disputes to a better tribunal than war."

Men have not gained the great ends of life through war. They have not learned liberty, equality, fraternity, justice, democracy, righteousness, co-operation, intelligence, or any of the ideas which we hold dear, from the practice of war. Lincoln stated the hope of all mankind when he reversed the philosophy of war and said, "Let us have faith that right makes might." If we would prove this faith by making it bear fruit, it must be by looking upon intelligent citizenship and good citizenship not as a by-product of life's other pursuits, but as the real business of life itself.

Summary and Conclusions. The economic, political, and social progress of the world has woven all society into one giant community. We live our daily lives in actual, though for the most part unrecognized, human relations with all the peoples of civilized society. This world community has been accomplished by the steady widening of units of co-operation

in human endeavor. These units of co-operation, based upon a desirable and almost necessary comity of the peoples of the world, in the fields of science, business, politics, and literature, have developed more rapidly than people have learned the spirit and technique of co-operation. Loyalties to the older and smaller units of co-operation still dominate the lives of most persons. The results are tragic conflicts.

Our own nation is young among the great powers of the world. It has been a highly favored and thus a highly successful nation. The supreme task now before it is the task of making its contribution to all civilization as well as to its own people. This it must do by learning its relation to the total world economy and by helping to build a culture or a civilization that is as democratic as it maintains within its own borders, but which is participated in by all the peoples of the world.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

ASHLEY, R. L., *The Practice of Citizenship*, Chap. XXIII.

HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of American Democracy*, Chaps. XXVII and XXVIII and pp. 612-616.

MOREHOUSE and GRAHAM, *American Problems*, Chap. XX.

MUNRO and OZANNE, *Social Civics*, Chaps. XXXII and XXXIII.

TUFTS, C. H., *The Real Business of Living*, Chaps. XLI and XLII.

WILSON, WOODROW, *War Messages*, Red, White and Blue Series.

Questions for Discussion:

1. Why didn't Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and other cities and states maintain consular services with other cities and states?
2. What would be the effect upon her own people if the United States withdrew absolutely from international commerce?
3. Do you believe in democracy? Why or why not?
4. Why did Americans not hate Germans before the war, did hate them during the war, and are now ceasing again to hate them?

5. How much did art, literature, Christianity, and ethical ideas grow during the World War?
6. Explain how war could or could not end war.
7. Why does universal enlightenment always tend to establish democracy?

CHAPTER XXII

CONSERVATION OF RESOURCES

Man creates nothing—he lives by the utilization of the forces of nature about him. A large part of his problem of existence is to find and turn to his use the bountiful energies which the Creator has placed within his reach. This he has done throughout the ages of the past and this he is doing with ever-increasing effectiveness to-day. The progress of the race from the remotest times is closely linked with the achievements of man's control over the energy stored in the soil, the forests, the quarries of marble and granite, and the mines of coal, iron, copper, and other minerals. At first his sole source of energy was from the food he ate, released in the labor of his own muscles. But as he called to his aid new forces outside himself, he raised himself to higher and higher levels of civilization and culture.

Conservation in its highest sense means the wisest and best use of the bounties of nature, not only in the interest of the present generation, but also in the interest of all generations yet to come. It does not mean that man should not use the timber from the forests or the coal from the ground, but that his use of them should be for the greatest good of the people now living and with an eye to the future needs of the millions yet to come. In the words of Van Hise, conservation means "the greatest good to the greatest number—and that for the longest time." Conservation is the antithesis of waste, and waste is the use of anything to satisfy a lower rather than a higher need. More than that, the consumption by one of goods that are much more needed by others is in general and to some degree a waste. When we have learned that such apparently trivial acts as the killing of a bird, the striking of a match on a public building, and the heedless destruction of

property even though our own, when all taken together, lay burdens upon men's backs that are grievous to be borne, we shall have caught some inkling of the meaning of conservation.

The story of man's conquest over nature is a brilliant one, but it is marred even in modern times with much wanton destruction and reckless disregard of the future. The history of the white man in America, with its record of the depletion and destruction of the natural fertility of the soil, the denuding of the hills and mountains of their forests, and the rapid and wasteful exploitation of much of our mineral resources, all for the benefit of a few generations of men, will not make good reading for the men of the coming and better day. Perhaps they will call us savages and that will be relatively just, for the race is, in fact, in its childhood. History is just beginning. The command to "subdue the earth" is barely beginning to be obeyed. The future with its prospects of man's subjugation of nature and of himself lies before him glowing with unimaginable splendor.

The problems of conservation must be considered from the point of view of the general welfare. While the self-interest of the individual, that motive which actuates the generality of mankind, can, perhaps, be safely trusted in the exploitation of nature for the extraction of goods that are quickly produced and quickly consumed, individual self-interest is not a safe motive to trust in the exploitation of natural resources which will be consumed over a long period of time, and in the consumption of which, therefore, future generations have an interest. The individual is not prone to think of a very distant future. He desires quick returns on his investments of labor or capital. To him a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. He will plant wheat this spring, for he can harvest it this fall; but he will not plant a forest, for he cannot afford to wait for it to come to maturity; and he will not sacrifice dollars from his present profits in the mining of his coal in order to save thousands to the people of a century or five centuries hence. The interests of the individual in the exploitation of non-replaceable natural resources such as coal and petroleum, and of replaceable natural resources such as timber which require

long-term investment, often run counter to the general welfare and must be made to coincide with or be subordinated to the interests of society.

Not only must the general welfare of future peoples be considered, but the general welfare of each generation also. The natural resources of the earth are a gift of Providence to all generations of men. Neither a single generation nor a few individuals in a generation should have any rights in them apart from the best interests of all. When we adopt the concept that our rights in property are not absolute, but extend only to its proper use, we shall have an attitude of mind most useful in solving the problems of conservation. The notion that the great natural resources are the objects of purely private exploitations is unworthy of a people which lays claims to a high state of civilization.

Forethought is the most distinguishing characteristic of civilized humanity. Savages and barbarians take little heed of the needs of the future. They gorge themselves in times of plenty and starve to death in times of scarcity. The precariousness of life in an uncivilized state is appalling, and accounts to a large degree, through the attitudes of mind generated by the ever-present specter of fear, for the customs, traditions, and beliefs that have come down to us from our primitive ancestors. As the race has developed it has done so only as it has adequately anticipated the future. The relative security of civilized society rests upon its savings, its accumulated stores of goods and wealth.

The natural resources may be divided into three classes—(1) those that are practically inexhaustible, (2) those that are replaceable, and (3) those that are non-replaceable. The kinds of inexhaustible resources are very numerous; air, water and water power, sunlight, sand, gravel, and building stone are examples. These offer no serious problem.

The replaceable natural resources are all of them forms of life or the results of life processes; the forests, soil fertility, fish, game, and birds are examples. As distinguished from the non-replaceable resources discussed later, it is within our power in the case of the replaceable resources to repair the

mistakes of the past and to recover the losses. Fortunately, the government has made good headway in reforestation, soil depletion is receiving increasing attention, and the significance and importance of fish, game, and birds are slowly becoming better appreciated by the general public.

The American forests have been nearly swept away. The centers of lumber production have moved steadily to the outer edges of the country or up into the mountains. Of our easily accessible native forests very few are left, and we would be on the verge of a lumber famine if the government had not set aside as government reservations millions of acres of timber lands. The movement for government reservation began in 1891 when President Harrison set aside 13,416,710 acres of timber land as a national forest. The greatest addition consisted of 148,346,925 acres set aside by President Roosevelt. In 1909 there were 149 national forests consisting of 194,500,043 acres mostly in Western United States, Alaska, and Porto Rico. In addition, twenty-two states had set aside a total of 9,460,622 acres. As it is, the supplies now growing are not sufficient to meet the anticipated needs, and lumber and other forest products are certain to become relatively scarcer and higher in price.

The effects of the annihilation of our native forests during the last century were greater than many might think. Not only has it threatened a serious lumber shortage, but the laying bare of vast areas of soil has exposed it to the washing and erosion of the rain. The forests were depositories of soil fertility and moisture. Most of the fertility was swept off by the streams to the sea, leaving a barren and rocky soil on which trees will hardly grow. Then, too, the forest highlands acted as great sponges, holding the moisture from the rains and feeding it out gradually to the lowlands. The lowlands now suffer from destructive floods in the rainy season and drought in the dry. The losses in soil destruction and soil fertility, the accumulation of ages, are beyond calculation. Fortunately, in time the desirable forests can be restored and the advantages now lost recovered.

Timber should be regarded as an agricultural crop, but one

which requires several years to come to maturity. In some sections of the country where the land is broken and hilly, farmers can afford to grow it for firewood, posts, railroad ties, and even lumber. But private enterprise would most probably never furnish adequate supplies for the nation's use. The growing of timber is regarded as a legitimate enterprise for the nation and the states to undertake. Much of the soil of the United States and its possessions is unfit for ordinary agricultural purposes, but excellently suited for the growing of timber. The national forests should be extended into these sections and all states with favorable areas should establish forests under their supervision and control.

Government control consists of setting the forest areas aside as the perpetual property of the people; of reforesting areas previously devastated; of policing and patrolling the reserves to prevent theft and to keep down forest fires; and of leasing timber for cutting to private concerns under supervision to see that only selected trees are cut, all slashings disposed of, the lumber properly gotten out, and seedlings planted to replace the trees that are gone. The national government and some of the states have established national and state parks in the most picturesque portions of their forests, to serve as playgrounds for the people.

The story of the exhaustion of our native forests has been duplicated in a less spectacular way in the depletion of the natural fertility of our soils devoted to agriculture. The settlers found a soil rich and deep with the accumulated humus of all past time. To them it seemed inexhaustible, but the farming operations of only a few decades have shown that the unaided soil responds with less and less abundant harvests. In the older sections of the country, the East and South, artificial fertilizers have long been resorted to, while in the newer West and Northwest the decreasing yields are bringing rapidly nearer the time of reckoning.

As with the forests, we have consumed the native soil fertility by wasteful methods and without much regard to a future when with an increased population it will be relatively more useful and valuable. Much of the native fertility has al-

ready been converted into food and fibers and consumed without paying the soil for its yields. This process is as foolish as for a business concern to pay out in dividends funds that should have been set aside to keep its machinery in good working order. Such a bad business policy leads to bankruptcy: and a continuation of the policy of converting the great fund of capital in the form of native soil fertility into dividends in the form of consumption goods must lead in the end to national bankruptcy. No great civilization can maintain itself on a soil that is growing poorer.

The problem of the soil is more difficult than that of the forests, chiefly from the fact that government cannot attack the problem in a direct way. Under our industrial organization it seems natural for agricultural land to be privately owned and operated. But the interests of private owners seem in some respects to run contrary to the long time interests of society. The interests of society require that the soil should be conserved, while the interests of individual owners seem to require that it should be depleted. At any rate, private owners have robbed the soil in the past and are continuing to do so now. Many suggestions have been made to bring the interests of the individual into line with those of society, most important of which are those of the single-taxers providing essentially for the nationalization of the land. Their suggestions cannot be discussed here any further than to say that in the present state of public opinion and education they are impracticable.

This leaves for the present only the slow method of education. The agricultural colleges are teaching with considerable effectiveness to students and farmers the various devices for building up the soil, such as terracing, proper crop rotation, and diversification; and the United States Department of Agriculture and the various state Departments of Agriculture are carrying on good work in the education of the farmer, upon whom the responsibility chiefly rests. But all attempts will meet with small success as long as the farmer remains in his present state of economic weakness. The dividends that have been declared out of the soil have not gone mostly to the

farmer, but to the consuming public, while he is often left to fight the uphill struggle on a ruined soil. The problem of the soil is thus seen to be closely tied in with the general rural problem upon some reasonable solution of which it must wait. The outstanding fact, however, should be borne in mind, that no great civilization can progress or even maintain its greatness upon a weakening soil with an impoverished rural population inevitably living upon it. No other question of greater import to the future of the nation now confronts us.

Other replaceable resources are fish, game, and birds. The national government and many of the states maintain hatcheries for the propagation of fish. The young are kept until large enough to be comparatively safe from their enemies and then turned loose in their native waters. By this means and by means of laws governing the size of fish that may be caught and the season, fish have been maintained in our inland lakes and rivers.

Most states have game laws to protect the wild life and special officers to enforce them. These laws designate the open and closed season for each kind of game. Some states have set aside regions where game and birds may not be hunted at any time, and the state and national forests provide refuges where they may increase in a natural habitat comparatively unmolested.

Coming to be recognized as of great importance are the birds. One authority says, "If all the birds were destroyed it would be only a short time—seven full years is the estimate—before all human and animal life on the earth would begin to perish miserably from starvation!"¹ Of course this would come about through an enormous increase in the number of insects, with the resulting devastation and destruction, first of plant and then of animal life. The great increase in the number of insect pests, boll weevils, army worms, cut worms, and what not, is now recognized to be due principally to the enormous destruction of bird life in the United States in the last thirty years. The annual destruction from insects amounts to many millions of dollars each year.

¹ *Elements of Conservation*, by Garrard Harris. Johnson Publishing Company.

There are three principal causes of the deplorable destruction of bird life. The clearing away of the forests and much of the land for farming purposes has destroyed their breeding and feeding places. Ignorant and heedless hunters, both boys and men, shoot them to exhibit their skill or to satisfy blood lust and stupid prejudice. And lastly, cats are a terrible enemy of birds, killing, it is estimated, no less than 100,000,000 each year.

Some things have been done to protect the birds. The national government has laws protecting migratory birds, and the national forests and parks serve as sanctuaries for birds of all kinds. Most of the states have wild-game laws protecting a few kinds of birds regarded as useful, and a few states have established zones where no birds may be killed at any time. We need broader and more stringent laws, but we need most of all to educate the public mind and conscience not only to the beauty, but the value of the birds.

The most important non-replaceable natural resources are coal, petroleum, copper, and iron. A complete list would include all the other minerals. The appalling fact from the point of view of conservation is that, when once worn out and dissipated by human use, they can never be recovered. That complacent optimism which says that man with his science will find substitutes, is not optimism, but heedlessness and recklessness. In the case of coal, petroleum, natural gas, and any other forms of stored-up energy it is true that it is possible and even probable that other sources of power as substitutes may be harnessed or their present use extended, for we can greatly increase our use of power from falling water, we can make much further use of plants in the production of alcohol and wood for fuel purposes, and we may capture energy directly from the sun, the source of all energy. But in the case of copper, iron, and the other "dead" minerals no satisfactory substitutes are likely ever to be discovered.

The non-replaceable resources are being rapidly consumed. They have been extensively used only within the last century, and their present frantic and often wasteful consumption amounts to a veritable assault upon the welfare of the race.

While up to a hundred years ago in the United States scarcely any coal had been taken from the ground, by 1845 a total of 27,700,000 tons and by 1908 a total of 7,240,000,000 tons out of the total available supply estimated at about 2,000,000,000,000 tons had been extracted. The waste in the mining of bituminous coal has been at least 50 per cent of the amount put on the market, and for anthracite as much as 150 per cent.¹ At the present rate of increase of consumption the whole supply of coal in the United States will be exhausted in less than two centuries.

Oil is rapidly replacing coal for many purposes. The internal-combustion engine is a more efficient user of energy than the ordinary steam engine, and oil for heating purposes in connection with the steam engine delivers about 17 per cent more heat, pound for pound, to the boilers than does coal. The increasing use of petroleum somewhat relieves the pressure on coal, but shifts our attention to the exhaustion of this resource. The United States produces about 70 per cent of the world's supply and consumes over half of what it produces. At the present rate of consumption the deposits in the United States will be all gone in less than fifty years. To be sure, there are large deposits known in other parts of the world, particularly in Asia, and no doubt others will be discovered, but, making the most liberal estimates, it can be a matter of only a few centuries at the best before this valuable resource will be gone.

Iron is the next most important resource in some remote danger of exhaustion. At the present rate of increase of production the known high-grade ores of the United States would all be mined out in a few decades. Fortunately, new deposits have been discovered almost faster than the ore has been taken from the ground, so that the estimate of the quantity available is now larger than ever before. This does not justify us, however, in wasting our iron.

What has been said of iron is almost equally true of other metals, particularly copper, zinc, lead, silver, and gold. Copper, silver, and gold do not rust appreciably, so that the supply is diminished only by wear and loss. Iron corrodes rapidly

¹ *Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*, by Van Hise.

when exposed to the air, and zinc and lead are consumed extensively in paints, in electric batteries, and in numerous other ways.

To the people of the future who have to face the end of these resources the problem will be as serious as though we were confronted with it ourselves. The modern world would be impossible without metals and our civilization would be impossible to sustain without new supplies of them to replace wear and tear. There is a continuous stream of the precious metals (and they are all precious) from the mines through the multifarious uses we make of them to final rust, decay, and dissipation. When the veins are all mined out will the world be face to face with a decay in civilization?

We need a strong public conservation policy toward all of our natural resources. Most of the civilizations of the past have been built upon the exploitation of nature or upon the exploitation of other peoples, but history has not yet shown a nation wise enough and great enough to develop a long-time civilization on a self-sufficient and self-supporting basis. In the case of our own country, we quite commonly claim large credit to ourselves for the wonderful progress of the last century, but it is to be wondered whether we would attribute so much to our own virtues if we considered that much that we have done is merely to convert the immense stores of native wealth into perishable forms. It is said of Augustus Cæsar that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble; but the rest of the story is not always told, that he found the provincial cities of marble and left them of brick. We have built our metropolises, but we have lost our forests; and many a thriving country city is little more than a pile of wealth scraped up from an adjoining countryside left impoverished in the process.

Aside from the waste and reckless consumption of our natural resources, perhaps the greatest evil in their exploitation has been the more or less complete appropriation to private wealth of this social resource. Practically all of the natural resources of the nation are in private hands—coal, oil, water power, and iron and the other minerals. Their increasing

scarcity will create values that will flow largely into private pockets unearned. Any adequate form of social control must so regulate them as to reserve to the people the unearned increment arising from their monopoly character, while paying to private enterprise fully, but only for service rendered.

Now this is not to say that we should not utilize our natural resources. We should do so, but always with a knowledge of their character and source. How vastly different would our policy be toward the non-replaceable resources, if we valued the interests of the future as we do our own! The public must be educated and aroused to something like this broad point of view, and government as the natural agent of the interests of the future must take a stricter charge in the interest of that future. Very much has been accomplished in the last twenty years, particularly with respect to the forests. Scarcely anyone doubts the necessity for public regulation—the only differences of opinion being as to the character and amount. In the opinion of the present writer, our major conservation problems will not be solved until we have established a public control tantamount to public ownership and administered by enlightened and far-sighted government. Perhaps government regulation is best for the present, but it should be thorough and complete, and in the sole interest of the people as a whole.

Human life is a resource that must be considered. Aside from sentimental and humanitarian considerations, society has a tremendous economic interest in the lives of the people composing it at any given time. From a fourth to a half of the individual's lifetime, that is from birth to maturity and later, is devoted to preparation for the activities of life. During this period, he is for the most part an economic liability. He must perform several years of fruitful service before the books will balance in his favor. In the case of some they never do balance that way. If he dies before he can show a balance, his death represents a direct investment loss to society.

Due to the wonderful achievements of medical science, the length of human life has been nearly doubled within the last century, the greatest gain being in the last thirty years. In

Geneva in the sixteenth century, the average length of life was 21.2 years.¹ Probably the average was not much above this figure in Europe during the whole of the Middle Ages. Thirty or forty years ago the average in the United States was between thirty and thirty-five years, while the present average is nearly fifty. Medical science has set for its goal the complete conquest of human disease, looking to a time when people shall die merely of old age. In view of the achievements of the past, government as the most effective social agent for this purpose should encourage the efforts of medicine by increasing the number and improving the equipment of hospitals and research laboratories and by a more generous support of the work of public-health officers.

It is the business of government also to suppress vice and crime and as far as possible to prevent accidents. Accidents on the railroads and in the industries, chiefly due to regulation and the enactment of employer's-liability legislation, have decreased; but accidents on the public highways, chiefly due to the automobile, have greatly increased. The more general use of highway police, and the enactment of laws which will keep incompetents from behind the driver's wheel, would greatly reduce the number of automobile accidents.

Vice may be defined as any act or habit that impairs the health and tends to shorten life. The most common vices are sex irregularities and the use of alcohol, and the two are most frequently associated with one another. The one contributes to venereal diseases with their highly serious consequences, and the other weakens the system and prepares it for the successful encroachments of disease. Prohibition is the only remedy that an enlightened society can apply to every form of vice. Prohibition not only gives vice the legal status of crime; it also sets a moral standard to which the individual is urged to conform. If the individual will not or cannot be made to conform to the standard which society has set, so much the worse for him. Education cannot be a substitute for any form of prohibition, but it is a valuable and necessary supplement to it. The education of the public, particularly the young, upon

¹ Van Hise, p. 364.

the dangers of vice to health and life is an obligation resting upon the home, the church, and the school.

The conservation of human life implies the best use of life. Idleness from any cause and work that does not create are forms of waste, for the laborer must still be supported while idle or engaged in fruitless labor. Aside from the lazy individual (and laziness is often due to disease or lack of proper nourishment), idleness as a public question is concerned with the unemployed and with the leisure class, both the rich and the ragged. An enlightened public will some day come to refuse to support idleness in any form and will require every normal person to be engaged in some kind of productive labor.

Not all work is creative in nature, and in so far as it is not, it is wasteful. Much of the work of the world, and not a little of its fuss and bustle, are non-productive, like putting a pile of bricks on one side of the yard to-day and on the other side to-morrow. Examples are without number. The work of lawyers, while perhaps necessary in our present state of social development, is, nevertheless, largely non-creative. After they finish a case there is almost nothing more in the world than there was before; they have not created anything, but have merely ironed out a maladjustment. In an ideal world lawyers and courts would be unnecessary. Their great number (and this is no reflection on the legal profession) is a fair index to the present state of social enlightenment.

Society is bearing a heavy burden in supporting the army of men engaged in the insurance business. They, too, are perhaps necessary at this time, but their work is largely non-productive. To be sure, a part of the effect of insurance is to decrease loss of life and of property, but for the most part insurance is a device for making people bear one another's burdens, and in addition a price for their own education which should not be necessary. We will reach the ideal in insurance when everybody is fully protected in life and property, at a cost equal to the economic value of this loss plus only the cost of bookkeeping and other similar services.

Most of the wastes from non-productive labor arise out of our ignorance. If and when people learn to live lives of har-

mony, order, and purpose, what an army of advertisers, salesmen, speculators, and the like will be released to more productive labor! This is the great object of education, not only to teach the individual to perform the most useful service of which he is capable, but to teach him also the arts of living.

Every person should have an individual conservation policy. Just as it is his duty in the social interest to put goods to their highest use, so it is his duty to put himself to the highest use. As to the material things, he should recognize that the wasting of goods is the wasting of human life; that if he throws away a pin he places the unnecessary burden upon somebody to make another one. Besides thus thinking of others, he must think of himself in the interest of himself and others. He cannot indulge in vice, for it will decrease his usefulness, and he must safeguard his health and employ his leisure and recreation in harmony with his purposes in life. His criterion of success will be whether he leaves in the world at his going more of wealth or of wisdom than there would have been without him.

Summary and Conclusions. Since man creates nothing, but only transforms the materials he finds in the world into usable shapes, by means of the energies of nature, it behooves him to give heed to their nature and character and the uses to which he puts them. The materials and energies which man uses are called resources. Some resources are practically (1) inexhaustible; others are (2) exhaustible, but replaceable; while others are (3) exhaustible and non-replaceable.

The conservation of resources means their highest use for the welfare of all society—all the people now living, and all to come. The problems of conservation must therefore be considered from the point of view of the general welfare. Government is the natural agency for guarding the public interest and perhaps the only one for safeguarding the interests of coming generations. We need a degree of public enlightenment, both inside and outside the government, that will put the government to its duty.

The most serious problems have to do with the forests, the soil, water power, and the exhaustible non-replaceable re-

sources. Much headway has been made to save and recover both the forests and the soil. But water power and the exhaustible non-replaceable resources are almost completely in private hands and inadequately controlled by the government in the public interest. On the contrary, they often control government. If the modern social organization which we call civilization is not to run into the shoals or even upon the rocks, some agency of public control must establish conclusively the public interest.

No society can endure permanently on a basis of exploitation of natural wealth that must some day come to an end. We must therefore learn to grow trees as fast as we use them, to replace the soil as fast as we extract life from it, and to wear out our non-replaceable resources as slowly as possible. The first enduring civilization that the world will see will be self-sufficient and self-contained, making up its losses out of its gains and in possession of an abundant and inexhaustible source of energy.

Human life is a resource. The loss of a productive man is a loss to society, for society has an investment in his training and education. To repay his social obligations each individual is in duty bound to make the most of life. The principle that conservation is right holds good with human life as with all other resources.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

VAN HISE, C. R., *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States.*

MUNRO, W. B., *Current Problems in Citizenship*, Chap. XVII.

HARRIS, G., *Elements of Conservation.*

HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of American Democracy*, Chap. XV.

ELY-HESS-LEITH-CARVER, *Foundations of National Prosperity.*

Questions for Discussion:

1. How much of what a doctor knows did he learn entirely by himself?
2. What is productive labor?
3. Is state life insurance practicable?

4. Do you know of any forms of energy that do not come directly or indirectly from the sun?
5. Why is breaking a window a question of conservation?
6. What will people do when they run out of coal and petroleum? Timber? Copper?
7. Is the use of alcohol as a beverage against the public interest? Why?

CHAPTER XXIII

HUMAN RELATIONS, DEMOCRACY, AND PUBLIC ETHICS

A person and his group are integral parts one of the other and the adequacy of their lives is a mutual concern. Life is a stream of events and experiences. It is a fallacy to think of it as organic only. If one were to do nothing but exist he would be little more than a stick or a stone. But in addition to existing he has experiences. Upon what his experiences are depend what he is, will, or can be. His experiences depend upon other people, what they are and what they do. Man cannot separate himself from society, and without him there would be no society. Individual life and social life are each a part of the stream of life. Biological and psychological individuals, like Tennyson's brook, may come and go, but life goes on forever. It goes on through the perpetuation of the species, and it goes on as a stream of events or a stream of culture. Men and social forms are but the particles which make up the stream. Without them there would be no stream, but they, separate from the stream, would be of no value. The process of biological living is carried on in the case of an individual by continually taking in food, water, and air and giving back energy or activity. The process of the psychological or social life of the individual is carried on by the stimulations which others furnish. These stimuli urge us to act and think, and we in turn stimulate others to act and think. Life would be barren and even impossible were it not for others.

Just as man cannot live a healthy life in the atmosphere of a malaria-laden swamp, so he cannot live a good life in an evil community. The reverse is also true, for a good community cannot be made out of evil and immoral people. It would be just as easy to make good cloth or fabric out of rotten textiles. A community, state, or nation needs the

allegiance, loyalty, and service of the citizen no more than the citizen needs the security, life, and service of the group.

A solution to the civic problems which have been discussed in this volume all depends upon a recognition of the facts just stated. We may not be conscious of the fact, but in attempting to assimilate the immigrant, remove or remake the criminal, insure good sanitation, eliminate the pauper, plan cities and construct good governments, we are working toward the end of building good community atmospheres and conditions. We want to be sure that the stream of events and conditions into which children are born and in which they are reared is good, healthful, and wholesome. We grant charters to corporations in order to set the field of activity and control the condition of the operation of corporations. We negotiate treaties with foreign nations so as to assure stable life relationships. We insist on finding a way that industrial disputes can be settled peaceably because of their effect on the public. Our systems of law and government, morals and religion, education and enlightenment, are for the sake of insuring stable and good social life and are all based upon a recognition that the individual and the group are part and parcel of one another.

Liberty, or freedom, is not an attempt to escape from other people and relations with them, but a demand for a fuller participation in relations with them. We crave the opportunity to make them a part of our lives and the privilege of contributing to their lives. A great and free personality is not one which has the power to command others to go there or come here, but one which comprehends in its experience and sympathy a great share of the world's interests, problems, and experiences. The great freedom which all men crave is the opportunity to drink deep of the things which he and others provide in the way of the good and great things of life. This fact was illustrated in the Great War. He was accounted a good citizen who was willing to do all he could, and, if need be, give all he had, for the common good. He sought the opportunity and found joy in giving and doing. He was proud

to fight for America because he thought or felt that he caught some meaning of America—a great social group.

Aside from group life great aspirations would never come to the individual. And just as in the war he asked not only what can I give or bring to my country, but how worthy am I of being called an American, so in civic life the good citizen asks not only how much can I get from society or how much can I bring to society, but how much can I participate in society and how well do I represent the best for which it stands.

A democracy attempts to utilize the integral relation of the individual and the group by setting up and maintaining "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Democracy is based upon a faith in the people's capacity and willingness to govern themselves well. The two main objects of all government should be to secure and guarantee justice and happiness. The three tenets of democracy by which it is believed these ends can be accomplished are liberty, equality, and fraternity. It is not through liberty, equality, and fraternity for the sake of themselves, or democracy for the sake of democracy, but through these things as machinery and principle that people can live and accomplish the art and science of living together. Liberty, the opportunity to participate in all of life's ways; equality, the opportunity to attempt the highest attainments; fraternity, the opportunity to assist and be assisted by all others, are the principles by which a democracy makes both individual and social life rich and abundant.

Liberty has grown as a product of larger and larger co-operation. From human relationships which were confined to the clan and tribe, co-operation expanded to the city, state, or nation and to the world. This expansion through all history has been driven by the desires of people to tap wider areas of economic and social life. The new relations that were set up, except in cases of military and predatory conquests, were always for the purpose of obtaining a greater liberty through a wider co-operation.

The fact that the struggle for individual liberty was waged against despotic rulers has given rise to the belief that liberty

inheres in escape from the restrictions of human relations. Democracy, however, does not believe in despotic rulers or even arbitrary laws. Liberty within a democracy, therefore, does not consist in escape from laws or rulers, but in a participation in legal controls, or government. The diversity of stimulation and environment which comes from a larger co-operation gives the individual within it not only freedom for action, but stimulates him to action. It is through action alone that he can attain liberty or life. One who seeks freedom and liberty, whether for the freedom of living or for the pursuit of happiness, must know that he can live only because others live and can find happiness only in association with them.

Equality need not be a theory of the inherent equal capacities of all human beings. The equality of American democracy states that all men are born equal—*i.e.*, they are born naked, without property, education, or social standing. It ought, therefore, to mean that each has an equal opportunity to attain the highest and greatest satisfactions of life. Of course, we all know that even in America the ditch-digger's son does not have equal opportunity with the banker's son to become President, to become educated, or to become rich. Just to that degree we are not a real democracy and in that fact rests one of the problems for a democratic citizenry to solve.

Fraternity is the greatest ideal of a democracy because it is the greatest ideal of life. Through its practices the natural inequalities of men are mitigated and the opportunities for liberty extended. It is because it, coupled with liberty, offsets the stultifying effect of a belief in "dead-level equality," that genius can live and thrive in a democratic state. All that fraternity demands of great men and great minds is that they serve and not exploit; that they practice fraternity and not highbrow benevolence; that their lives be woven into the fabric of the life of the group; and that they recognize their superior attainments as products of superior biological equipment or superior social advantages, neither of which they themselves created. Fraternity is the Golden Rule in prac-

tice. It is a valuable principle not because it is a rule, but because it is a way of abundant life.

Democracy is a government of and by the people. It is not necessarily thereby a good, much less a perfect government. The ideal that the people can do no wrong is fallacious. They must know and care what they do when they come to the polls. Furthermore, there is no appeal from the majority, which makes it vital that democratic initial acts be right, if possible, and altered if not right. The power of the people is an overwhelming power. If directed in right directions it can overthrow any injustice, put down any selfishness, and exercise probably the surest wisdom known. But if it becomes a mob it can do great injustice and more surely wreck stable institutions and relationships than any other force. Its power was shown in the World War when feudal governments sneered at the capacity of a democracy to wield united power. Democracy mobilized for war with a rapidity and strength almost undreamed of. But popular and democratic government can be the most inefficient government known if its people are politically lazy. It demands vigilance, courage, intelligence, and honesty.

"The people generally mean well," we say, but they must act, not only by casting their ballots, but in helping to make public opinion and developing right civic relations. While Lincoln was right when he said, "You can fool all of the people some of the time and some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time," it would be much better if we could develop an intelligence and consciousness which would make it impossible to fool the whole people at any time.

Enlightenment, education, and willingness to think are essential to the efficiency of a democracy—a government of and by the people. The development of enlightenment and the capacity to generate problems which make people think are the bases of the continuous success of a democracy. Nor should it be thought that merely to teach persons to read and write will guarantee good citizenship or good government. Some of the early democracies were maintained before there

were any books or newspapers. Nevertheless, the citizens of those democracies—Athens, for instance—were alive to public issues and intelligent on civic relations. Civic knowledge is more important than reading and writing, important as literacy is.

A democracy must not only be alive, but it must ever be critical of itself. Indifference to public concerns opens the door for corruption and graft. Such indifference makes it possible for a few to use the machinery of government to exploit many. If all the people do not exercise their initiative it makes possible unworthy gain by those who do exercise initiative, and, worse yet, our tremendous belief in the individual leads us to believe that these gains are due to greater capacity for service. Democracy is a natural product of men's inter-related activities. Everyone, whether he would or not, contributes to the common pool. Unless all are vigilant in what happens to the pool it will be grabbed and used by the shrewd few for individual rather than public gain.

The printed page, especially newspapers, have made democracy on a large scale possible. Plato believed that a democratic state that reached beyond the orator's voice was impossible. The wide dissemination of a knowledge of events and civic issues makes it possible to maintain a democracy over areas of any size among any number of people. But, as Bryce says, "Reading is merely a gate leading into the field of knowledge." If the newspapers be dominated by their business and advertising functions, if they be purely political party organs, they will probably do little to convert reading into sure knowledge. Knowledge and judgment are the products of thinking, and thinking is possible only when issues must be weighed. Newspapers which do not present both or all sides of public issues, and people who read only the Sunday comic supplement, sporting page, or partisan editorial comment, do not develop thinking, knowledge, or judgment. A great many persons follow blindly along with their political party because they have no will or judgment of their own. They accept the viewpoint of the editorial when they do not know who wrote

it, because they are ignorant of the issues at stake and cannot form opinions of their own.

A democracy of 100,000,000 people must be ruled by public opinion. The efficiency of a government by public opinion is measured and set by the number of its citizens who think critically. In a nation as large and as populous as the United States, the public can do little more than exercise an indirect veto of the acts and programs of the government officials and bureaus. Unless a goodly proportion of the citizens of the nation are thinking critically, a democracy in a nation of the magnitude of the United States is sure to drift toward bureaucracy.

The growth of civic clubs and voluntary associations of all kinds ought to do much to bring public and civic issues to many men's minds and ought to furnish, in their meetings, sufficient diversity of opinion to develop critical thinking. The greatest school, however, for developing enlightenment and critical judgment on civic relationships is participation in local self-government and community and neighborhood affairs. For if a man is unconcerned, unintelligent, and lazy in affairs which concern his local community he is not likely to be intelligent and concerned with the larger civic issues of the state and nation. Furthermore, a democracy demands public spirit and the capacity to co-operate on the part of its citizens. As Bryce says, "Whoever learns to be public spirited, active and upright in the affairs of the village has learned the lesson of the duty incumbent upon the citizen of a great country." Participation in public discussion and observation of civic programs and policies on a small scale develop both talent and judgment in affairs of larger scope.

The development of public opinion on national affairs is not an easy task. Opinion demands more than mere credulity. It demands intelligence and judgment. It can be developed only by the process of weighing issues. If persons are to weigh issues they must know something about what the issues are and something about both sides of the issues. A government by public opinion, therefore, requires intelligent and critical citizenship.

If public opinion is not intelligent and derived from wide sources, it cannot be effective in establishing and maintaining a government in behalf of the people. There are generally three classes of people who make up such a government by public opinion: first are the leaders who generate or at least actually propagate arguments on public issues; second are the more or less silent thinkers who weigh the issues before they act; third are the great mass of people who either act without thinking or do not act at all in public matters. The leaders may be either statesmen or demagogues. The silent thinkers can have real judgment and become effective citizens only if they participate in the trial-and-error activities of democratic society, at least in their local communities. The mere followers, or politically non-active members of society, are not only a burden, but often vicious constituents because of their miscalculated or uncalculated votes. They are the people who make possible the rule of bosses and the perpetuation of exploitative public policies both of which are menaces to democracy.

The rule of public opinion is a comparatively new factor in government. It was not necessary in small Greek-city democracies. It was not developed nor would it have been tolerated, in feudal kingdoms. It became necessary only when men gained freedom from political despots and developed democracies on a large scale. Now that we do have democracies on a large scale, it is essential to their perpetuity and integrity. If it were not for the operation of public opinion, every public measure would have to be submitted to a referendum of the people in order to know the will of the people. As it is, even those persons whom the people have elected to represent them, since most of them seek re-election, keep themselves continually cognizant of what their constituents think. Public opinion, while greatly enlivened during political campaigns, continues to generate all the time and thus, while sluggish and seldom invoked, is nevertheless always active.

The value of a rule by public opinion is that it is ever changing with the changing needs and desires of the people. At the time of an election all votes are equal and all issues,

so far as votes can decide them, are equal. Public opinion tends to give each its relative importance, even sacrificing minor issues for major ones, and, if alive and intelligent, will furnish the judgment or belief upon which votes are cast. It tends to lessen the influence of the most ignorant and vicious voters, who have a right to equal weight in deciding issues in a democracy. In no society is it desirable, and under the rule of public opinion it is impossible, for a citizen to calculate his responsibility and contribution to the common life as one one-hundred-millionth part of society's task. Each contributes that which his talents make possible if he exercises his influence in making public opinion.

Public opinion is developed through discussion and thinking. A citizen in order to influence it or contribute to it must take sides and let it be known where he stands. It is true that public opinion is only opinion, but what people believe to be true they have the power to create in civic matters. The big questions are, are the people going to think, and what are they going to think. They are not going to think merely abstractly and they are not going to think much by merely reading what others say. They must engage in discussion and participate in community action. We live universally in groups. What we need is a technique of group action and a means of developing group opinion. Our overwrought concern about our daily occupations makes poor citizens of us. As valuable as are the contributions we make by doing our division of the economic task, there is great need that the persons who specialize in divisions of labor, in occupations and professions, shall make common cause of all civic issues. The old Athenian assemblies, the modern Russian mir, our early New England town meetings, and the open forums of England were or are places where men with civic passions learned and exercised the art of self-government. We need such meetings, discussions, and civic practices in every community or neighborhood of America as training schools for the larger national citizenship, as well as for the improvement of local civic life. A great democracy of 100,000,000 citizens has its sources and develops its capacity for self-government in the thousands

of neighborhoods and communities of the nation where day-by-day life is lived and in which many great civic issues generate.

A live public conscience and a recognized body of public ethics are essential to a government of, by, and for the people. A state cannot be set up or maintained imaginatively by a constitution and a set of laws. It must be created by group action. We must go back of law and beyond law to the life, needs, and aspirations of people if we would create a government that is good, or develop an interest in citizenship that is functional. Laws are the antennæ of community life. They were made for man and by man, not he for them. They are not made for individuals, however, so much as they are made for the community. Furthermore, they cannot state what shall be done except under martial law or by means of such laws as traffic laws. Even then they cannot create or dictate the spirit in which a thing is done. Good citizenship, on the other hand, refuses to violate what is good for the community even though there be no law. Laws are not the essence of justice nor do they create justice. They only administer or execute justice in keeping with the morals which grow out of and protect the lives and happiness of people. Morality and law are, therefore, not opposing, but supplementing forces and agencies.

One of the chief causes of poor citizenship or bad citizenship is the tendency on the part of many to substitute the legal for the moral or ethical. Such a tendency leads to license in the absence of legal mandates and even to a positive feeling of righteousness for all acts not forbidden by law. The self-seeking individual, through such thinking and practice, is not only unsocial, but often actually anti-social. Laws are made to assist people in life and life's intercourse, but in order for them to include all the "thou shalt's" or even all the "thou shalt not's" of group life would make them ponderous and unusable. The large proportion of stimulation to constructive action and the restraints on destructive actions must be embodied in the moral code and the body of social ethics of the community. Even rights must be looked upon as purely legal.

All the law does is, through rights, to guard the individual against the encroachment of others. By guaranteeing individual rights it does not throw a person out of relationship with others, but brings him into systematic relationships with them. Rights are always delegated by the group to its members. By them one is not excused or eliminated from group relations, nor would he want to be.

The greater number of rights a government or society can delegate to an individual the more it has done for him and thus the more he owes his conditions and opportunities of life to society, and the more he is obligated to use his rights in behalf of society. A right carries with it an obligation, set by the conditions of its grant. A person may use the road, but he must drive to the right; he may own property, but he must not make of it a nuisance to others; he may vote, but he must not sell his vote; he may get married, but he must not practice polygamy. These limitations set the legal obligations. Beyond the legal obligations lie the obligations to the people who made the law. If these obligations are not recognized they may and should be annulled by law. One who stands purely and only on his rights, and who attempts to accept all the protections and immunities of social life without accepting any of its responsibilities, is anything but a good citizen.

The characteristics and value of democracy, as a form of legal society, are that its rights, duties, and responsibilities are all parts one of the other. Citizenship inheres in no one of these things, but inheres in active participation in social activities of which these things are a necessary part. If the citizen attempts to live on rights, he is selfish; and if he thinks only of duties and responsibilities, he makes life irksome. He must, therefore, seek and find his life's inspiration in ends that promote the good of all, his own with the others. To stand on his rights alone causes him either to encroach upon the rights of others or to be a neutral in all issues of society, and a democracy has no place for neutrals. A good citizen not only accepts the boons and protection of government and obeys its laws, but recognizes his interwoven life with others and respects and seeks to promote these relationships.

A person who is not sensitive to the needs and interests of others is either ignorant or grossly selfish, and even his selfishness is as often a result of not thinking at all as it is in thinking wrongly. Persons are so interested in performing well their occupations and professions in life that they fail to understand even the conditions under which these occupations and professions are made vital and valuable. They are, in their daily pursuits, cogs in a great machine which they do not recognize. Even a highly trained scientist may be woefully ignorant of his political and social relationship, and thus not trained at all for wise and wholesome political and civic action. Knowledge is only one of the many things essential to good citizenship, and the most valuable knowledge is the knowledge of human life and human relations. Furthermore, a community wants lawyers, doctors, engineers, farmers, and teachers who do more than practice their professions and obey the law. It wants those who will accept the larger obligations and responsibilities of citizenship by knowing and acting intelligently in all human relations.

The last and ultimate need for making a government by the people good is the development of a public or civic conscience. To abide by the socially established is moral, but a democracy demands more. A good citizen, like good men everywhere, must measure what he is by what he ought to be and then seek to evangelize his concept of the right. We do not so much need conformity as we need progress. We do not so much need sentimental patriotism as we need knowledge of purpose for the common good. Professor Mecklin says, "The democracy of the future must be more than a body of laws, more than a social or political program: it must be a faith, a loyalty. For, after all, the creative and forward-looking elements in human life are our faiths. Faith is not only 'the substance of things hoped for.' It not only sketches the outlines of the masterpiece that is one day to be filled in with line and color. Faith is also creative, even militant. 'This is the victory that overcomes the world, even your faith,' holds equally for the political and religious life."

Moral sentiments, ethical ideals, and even habits are all set

chiefly in other walks of life than the political. It is in the homes, the schools, the churches, the industries, and the neighborhoods of the nation that these things weave themselves into the lives of men. The attainments of co-operation, justice, and righteousness will never rise higher in the state or nation than the conscience and righteousness of the rank and file of the persons who constitute these political units.

The unity of a nation depends upon the integrity and sure functioning of its major social institutions. Its ideals can rise no higher than those generated in the homes, schools, and churches and those practiced in industries and neighborhoods. Its government is a government of the people and must depend upon what the character, practices, and ideals of its people are. It must, therefore, seek to preserve its institutions, develop its community life, and seek, through them, to develop that type of citizen who is intelligent, conscientious, and enthusiastically loyal to the common good.

Summary and Conclusions. There are two vital concepts essential to an understanding and appreciation of the issues that have been discussed in this chapter. One is, that the day-by-day life of every individual is in every way but a part of the day-by-day life of the groups of which he is a member. The other is that ethics, whether called "public ethics" or not, constitutes standards of conduct set by groups. Righteousness inheres in right human relationships and unrighteousness inheres in wrong human relationships.

In public affairs, many human relations are impersonal. The machinery of government is complex and seems to the individual to be operated by others. In a democracy, or any other form of representative government, however, the whole scheme of government is set up and operated on the assumption that citizens will recognize that they are participators in it. If the responsibility of participation is not accepted by the citizens, democracy loses its capacity to guarantee the integrity of wholesome individual life. For such integrity and such wholesomeness can be assured only by the creative functions which the individual performs by participation.

Men have learned the ways of democracy in face-to-face

group life. The traditional cardinal virtues of the human race have grown out of life lived in the relations necessitated by group existence. Until comparatively recently in the world's history all human groups have been simple and small. Now many groups, in economic, political, and social life have become complex and large. If society is to maintain any workable standard of ethics in these large human relations, it must apply to large and complex groups the virtues that have been tested and proven in family and neighborhood life.

Most persons are willing and anxious to use high standards of conduct in family and neighborhood life because they know the members of their families and their neighbors and are sympathetic with their conditions and problems of life. If, therefore, we expect it to be humanly possible for persons to practice high ethical standards of conduct in their more impersonal and larger human relations we must make it possible to understand the conditions and problems of all people in all places. The purpose of this volume has been to take one step in that direction.

Supplementary and Collateral Readings:

BRYCE, J. B., *Modern Democracy*, Vol. I, Chaps. XII and XIV.

DEWEY and TUFTS, *Ethics*, Chaps. IV and XXI.

FOLLETT, M. P., *The New State*, Chaps. XV and XXXIV.

HAYES, E. C., *Sociology and Ethics*, Chap. VII.

HUGHES, R. O., *Problems of American Democracy*, Chap. XXIII.

LIPPMANN, W., *Public Opinion*, Chap. XIII.

MECKLIN, J. M., *An Introduction to Social Ethics*, Chap. VII.

WEYL, W. E., *The New Democracy*, Chap. XX.

Questions for Discussion:

1. What is the relation between the rise of democratic government and the growing economic interdependence of the peoples of society?
2. How do the people rule in a democracy?
3. Is education and enlightenment any more essential in a democracy than in any other form of government? Why or why not?

4. What are the things that keep some people from participating in public opinion?
 5. What do we mean by public conscience?
 6. How are society and the individual but two aspects of the same thing?
 7. What constitutes a man a good or bad citizen?
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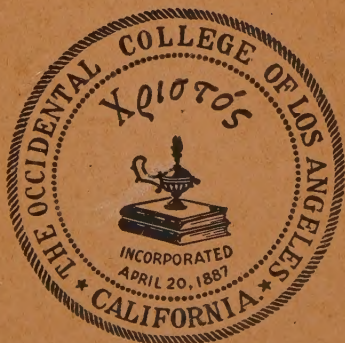
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